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COMMUNISM IN REVIEW

by

Richard H. Sanger

July 1967

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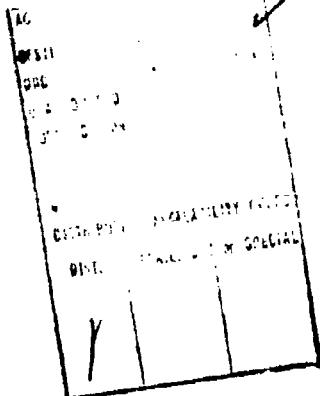
HEADQUARTERS

UNITED STATES ARMY COMBAT DEVELOPMENTS COMMAND
FORT BELVOIR, VIRGINIA

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ABSTRACT

This memorandum presents basic information on the subject of communism, which the author feels is of importance for modern day army officers. Briefly covering the history, theory, fallacies, and practice of communism, the information is presented as a minimal level that the officer would need for dealing with this form of political ideology and way of life.

FOREWORD

United States Army personnel overseas, particularly those in the field of internal defense and internal development are sure to find themselves dealing with overt and covert Communists, sympathizers, Communist "dupes," or fellow travelers. Almost without exception these leftists will have been indoctrinated in study groups, through lectures, or by attendance at special schools. If Army personnel are to counter the arguments raised by these subversive elements, US officers and noncommissioned officers must have a background in three aspects of communism. First, they should have some familiarity with the history of the movement and the chief personalities involved. Second, they should understand the theory of communism—the propaganda line used by Communists, agitators, and organizers to give the doctrine appeal. And last, they should know the fallacies in Communist teaching, and be able to cite examples of how in country after country the practice bears little or no resemblance to the appealing theory put forth by Communist orators or developed in Communist literature. This memorandum is intended to provide a general guide regarding these three aspects of the Communist conspiracy.

This report is part of a larger CORG study effort, that resulted in six reports. The first report, CORG-M-293, US Army Socio-Political Education Requirements for Internal Defense and Internal Development Operations, contained the main portions of the investigative effort, including the discussion of the problem, conclusions and recommendations. The other five reports, including this report, are supporting historical documents. Previous Army operations which involved or touched upon the considerations of the overall study are covered in CORG-M-310, The United States Soldier in a Non-Violent Role: An Historical Overview. Russian and Chinese Communist military educational systems for political instruction are described in CORG-M-312, Political Education in the Army of the Soviet Union and CORG-M-313, Political Education in the Army of Communist China. A lesser known system of political instruction within a military structure is covered in CORG-M-314, Political Indoctrination in the Wehrmacht.

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COMMUNISM IN REVIEW

HISTORY OF COMMUNISM

Early History of Communism -- 1840-1917

Marx and Engels

Marx was born in 1818 in the German Rhineland. His family, although Jewish, became Christian; Marx himself did not practice any religion.

After receiving a PhD in college he became the editor of a newspaper in Cologne, and his writings in it and elsewhere were much influenced by the theories of the philosopher Hegel. When the newspaper was suppressed for being too leftist, Marx went to Paris where he spent much time with socialists, such as Proudhon, Bakunin, and the son of a wealthy British textile manufacturer named Frederic Engels. After early differences Marx and Engels developed one of the most important literary partnerships of the 19th century.

Many of the conclusions reached by Marx on the evils of private ownership came from Engels, and are included in Engels' book, The Condition of the Working Class in England, which was written in 1845.

After a time Marx was expelled from Paris and went to Belgium and Prussia where he continued his radical writing and teaching, and developed study groups, a technique much used by modern Communists. Because of his involvement in the unsuccessful European workers' revolutions of 1848 in both France and Germany, he was expelled from Prussia and moved to London. There he went on teaching communism, writing, lecturing, and developing contacts with leading radicals and socialists. Because of his forceful and argumentative nature, these frequently developed into bitter feuds. Since this way of life produced little income, Marx was largely supported by his friend Engels until his death in 1883.

The International Communist League -- 1847

Workers associations in various European capitals were centralized at a meeting of revolutionaries in London in 1847 which founded the International Communist League. As a program for this body Marx and Engels drafted the now famous Communist Manifesto which is discussed in more detail in the section on "Theory, Fallacies, and Practice of Communism" (p 42).

The members of the Communist League soon split on a variety of issues, including the question of whether the countries of Europe were ready for immediate revolution. Surprisingly enough Marx was one of those who felt that a period of education would be needed before the European masses could stage a successful revolution. When this point came to a formal vote in the

International Communist League. Marx's position won, but the margin was so small he decided to leave England and move the revolutionary headquarters to Cologne, Germany, a change which resulted in the withering away of the International Communist League (Ref 1, pp 97-98).

The First Internationale -- 1864

Even after his move to Germany, Marx returned frequently to England and spent much time there with his friend and supporter Engels. As a result of these frequent meetings, Marx and his followers formed, in 1862, during a conference of left-wing European labor leaders in London, the International Federation of Working Men, commonly known as the First Internationale, whose mission was to destroy the economic system then prevalent in the Western world. The federation's "profession of faith" was drafted by Marx. The First Internationale was loosely organized but it promoted working class unity. By 1881 it was reported to have some 800,000 actual members as well as loose ties with five million more workers, although both figures were probably inflated.

The Paris Commune -- 1871

Stimulated by the First Internationale, by Marx's work, Das Kapital, and by the thinking and orating of such extremists as Bakunin and Blanqui, the French workers in 1871 began a series of strikes and sit-downs which ended at the barricades in an uprising known as the Paris Commune. The revolt was suppressed by the French authorities with over 20,000 casualties and Marx's position that more time was needed for preparation before a revolution could succeed was vindicated. However, in most European circles Marx, Engels, and their extremists followers were blamed for overstimulating the workers and thus causing the disaster of the Paris Commune (Ref 1, pp 104-105).

The Anarchist International -- 1881, and the Second Workers International -- 1889

Radical thought continued to expand in Europe during the next decades, leading to the founding in London in 1881 of an organization called the Anarchist International; in 1889 the Second Workers International was started in Paris. Relatively little but ideas came of the anarchist's group, but the Second International prospered and rallied many workers to socialism. Its International Congresses were well attended and its country branches were important in the European Labor Movement down to World War I. Part of its success lay in the fact that, although its leaders talked of an eventual revolution, they actually worked for reforms, many of which came into being in such countries as England, France, and Germany (Ref 1, pp 112-122).

The Scene Shifts to Russia and Lenin

With the passing of Marx in 1883 and the aging of Engels, who died in 1895, new leaders struggled for control of the International Communist movement during the close of the 19th and the start of the 20th Century. The most important of these were Lenin, Trotsky, and later Stalin (Ref 1, p 125).

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, now known to the world as Lenin, was born in 1870 in the backward provincial capital of Simbirsk on the Volga river. His father was a school superintendent who became a minor nobleman; his mother came from the German colony on the Volga. In general, the early family life was peaceful and happy until his brother Alexander, a chemistry student, joined a small group of amateur revolutionaries and helped them make bombs to kill Czar Alexander the Third. The plot was uncovered by the Czar's police and most of the participants, including Alexander Ulyanov, were hanged. It has been said that this event "put iron into Lenin's soul," and the iron was reinforced when he was expelled from the University of Kazan because of his relationship to "the bomb-maker Alexander."

As a result of these shattering events, young Vladimir Ulyanov lost his faith in God, the Russian State, the Czarist regime, and the capitalist system. He became a cynic and, as Trotsky later wrote of him "moved from the University of Kazan to the University of Marxism." Reading more and more Socialist and Communist material, he was particularly impressed by the writings of the militant George Plekhanov who had told the First Congress of the Socialist International that "political freedom in Russia will be gained by the working class, or it will not exist at all." When young Ulyanov began talking freely about the working class role in violent change, he was arrested and spent "six silent years" in the town of Samara on the Volga. During this time he became a revolutionary Marxist (Ref 2, pp 39-100).

Ulyanov was permitted to go to St. Petersburg in 1894 where he began working with various intellectuals in a group known as the "Committees for Literacy." In these committees for the first time he found himself involved with factory workers and began teaching them Marxism. Before long, he and his revolutionary comrades had thoroughly penetrated the literacy committees, using them as "front-organizations," treating their members as "innocents or fellow-travellers," and the people who put up the money to keep the committees going as "unsuspecting angels" (Ref 2, p 103).

When the police struck down the Literacy Committees, Ulyanov turned to the use of "study groups" which later became a regular aspect of early Communist movements. He also wrote Three Yellow Notebooks aimed at discrediting the liberals and Social Democrats and supporting the more active revolutionaries, a split which has continued in Socialist-Communist thinking and is reflected in the division between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Actually, the Russian police of that period believed that the struggle between the liberals and radicals in the ranks of the Socialists was weakening to both of them, and so tended to encourage the controversy.

After a short trip on which he contacted various European Communists in Germany, France, and Switzerland, Ulyanov returned to Russia in the autumn of 1895 in time for a wave of strikes. His role in them, however, was minor and he found himself once again working largely with the intellectuals. To further "proletarian revolutionary" thought he put out a newspaper, called The Worker's Cause, as the organ of a group known as the "League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class." But this league was soon penetrated by a police informer, and Ulyanov and his associates were sent to jail (Ref 2, p 126).

Lenin in Jail, Siberia, and Exile

After a period in prison in St. Petersburg, Ulyanov was transferred to a small Siberian town near the headwaters of the river Yenissei, where he remained for three years. It was a pleasant and healthy region and almost every village in the area housed one or more political prisoners who were able to exchange ideas and even to visit each other on certain occasions. Persons exiled to Siberia under Lenin and Stalin did not have so good a life.

Ulyanov was able to leave Siberia in February, 1900, and after further troubles with the Russian police reached Geneva, where he worked with a group of revolutionaries, including his former mentor, George Plekhanov. Finding ideological difficulties in Geneva over the establishment of a revolutionary newspaper called Iskra (The Spark), Ulyanov decided to begin publication of the paper in Stuttgart, Germany. While writing for it Ulyanov began using the pseudonym of Lenin; as his reputation grew, he came to use that name exclusively. Lenin then set out to build a true revolutionary machine, the "All-Russian Social Democratic Labor Party." To direct that movement and to distribute copies of the paper, Lenin put together an organization of secret agents, men and women who became, in effect, the officers of the new party. As time went by, more and more of them became direct followers or personal agents of Lenin himself, who repeated in his writings and speeches that everything must be subordinated to the political overthrow of the Czar. Lenin was unwavering in the belief that to accomplish this, there must be tight party discipline with a "center" issuing commands which could be discussed but had to be obeyed; this is what is now referred to as "democratic centralism."

Early Career of Trotsky

In order to broaden the editorial board of Iskra and to smooth over some of the conflicts among its six directors, a seventh editor was added, a youthful genius who used the name of "The Pen," a man now known as Leon Trotsky.

He had been born Lev or Lyova Bronstein, the son of a hard working Jewish farmer in a small and isolated village more than 20 miles from a railroad; a place without a post office, a doctor, or a newspaper. The soil, however, was good and the older Bronstein prospered. Young Lev early developed a fondness for reading and writing which caused him to take his pseudonym of "The Pen" (Ref 2, p 176). When he was assassinated in Mexico in 1940, Trotsky still had a pen in his hand.

Young Bronstein was sent to school in the populous Ukrainian seaport of Odesa, where he lived with a family who operated a printing press. The young student developed a great interest in publishing which stayed with him all his life. He even carried a printing press on his armored train when he was running the revolutionary side in the Russian Civil War.

Possibly because he was Jewish, young Bronstein was accused by other boys in his school of being a troublemaker and he was expelled for a year, an incident whose scars remained with him all his life. He thereupon returned to his father's farm where he was struck by the backwardness of the peasants and the cruel way in which they were treated by many of the landlords. This stimulated his thinking about "permanent revolution" and the principles and causes behind it.

Returning again to school, this time in the smaller Ukrainian seaport of Nikolaev, young Bronstein neglected his homework in order to read books on the French Revolution, economic development in the West, and Marxism. Because of his quick mind and his ability as an orator, he soon became a leader in the radical intellectual circles of Nikolaev. This led to his making many new friends, including a brilliant young radical named Alexandra Lovskaya whom he eventually married.

Trotsky in Prison and Exile

The poor marks resulting from young Bronstein's preoccupation with the Revolution caused a quarrel with his father, a situation frequently encountered in the family backgrounds of insurgent leaders. Lev Bronstein disregarded his father's wishes and continued his political activities, working through a group known as the "South Russian Worker's Union." When it was penetrated by the Czar's police, he was arrested in January, 1898, and held for a while in solitary confinement without trial or opportunity for legal counsel. This experience, one often encountered by young revolutionaries, greatly strengthened his bitterness against the government. After a while he was transferred to a "model prison" in Odessa, where he was allowed to read books of his own choosing. It was during this period that he became converted to Marxism. Then, early in 1900, he was sent to Siberia for four years, living in a village on the Lena River with his wife, and reading smuggled revolutionary literature, including Lenin's What's to be Done. This made an impression on him that, leaving his wife behind and using a forged passport bearing the name of Trotsky (the chief jailor in the model prison in Odessa) he escaped from Siberia and eventually reached London. There, he went directly to Lenin's apartment and offered his services in the cause of world revolution. Lenin soon recognized Bronstein-Trotsky's brilliance. At first he used him as a lecturer, organizer, and money raiser, but as mentioned above, he later put him on the editorial board of Iskra.

At that time, the board was split between those who followed Lenin completely and those who had opinions of their own, and Trotsky found himself in the middle of a series of editorial and party conflicts. Actually Lenin was using the board of Iskra editors as the high command of the "World Communist Movement," a movement which he directed by hand-picked travelling or resident agents who worked for him and received their instructions from him by code.

In order to be nearer their underground apparatus in Russia, the editorial board of Iskra, now clearly a front organization for the direction of the movement, was moved to Geneva from London in April of 1903.

The Unification Congress of 1903

After much argument and extensive preparation, what was called the "Second Congress of the All-Russian Social Democratic Labor Party" met in a warehouse in Brussels in July of 1903. The meeting had been called to improve organization and to unify the Party. Actually, it turned into a forum in which Lenin and his splinter faction took over complete control. Details of how this was done are examined in the section on "Theory, Practice, and Fallacies of Communism." It is sufficient to say here that Lenin hand-picked a large block of delegates, used them to put through his program, and caused various opposition groups to walk out of the meetings or to abstain. Among the points in which Lenin's ideas dominated was centralization of the Party, agreement that Party members must be subject to Party discipline, and the idea that the board of editors of the newspaper Iskra should be dominant over the central committee of the Party. Once these points were settled Lenin elected a new board of Iskra editors, and jammed through a series of resolutions in a way that led many of the delegates to shout "dictator."

After the conference the ideological split continued in the editorial board of Iskra and became so serious that even Lenin could not control it. He therefore left the board "in a vacuum of exile in Switzerland" and proceeded to develop his own strength within the party, recruiting new followers such as Bogdanov, Lunacharsky, Litvinov, and Rykov.

Growing Tensions in Russia

While the high command of the revolution was debating and fighting in Brussels, London, and Geneva, radical developments began in Russia, including a unique experiment by the Russian police in unionism and "police socialism" (Ref 2, p 265). The early years of the 20th century were a time of action; peasants began burning manor houses and killing land owners; in the cities the workers demonstrated and carried on strikes; in the universities the students started organizing; intellectuals, such as lawyers and teachers held meetings; terrorism increased. The Russian Minister of Education was assassinated in 1901, the Minister of the Interior was killed in 1902, and his successor in 1904. A Grand Duke was murdered in 1905, to mention only a few of the more striking examples of anti-government terror. Many of those involved in this new wave of action belonged to the "Fighting Section" of the newly formed peasant and intellectual group, the "Social Revolutionary Party."

The turmoil and awakening extended to high social and financial circles. The famous writer Count Leo Tolstoy was excommunicated by the Russian church, while a relative of the Czar, Prince Obolenski, not only contributed to the newspaper Iskra but helped to found the liberal "Constitutional Democratic Party" as a center of action for liberals and the intelligentsia. Various rich industrialists provided substantial sums of money for underground activity as well as for groups such as the Constitutional Democratic and the Social Democratic Parties.

There was also progressive thinking in parts of the government. Russia was put on the gold standard, its railways grew faster than those of any other European country, and its industry began to expand at a faster rate than that of Germany, France, England, and at times even the United States. Helping to carry out this progress was a new generation of forward-looking civil servants who worked hard in the name of progress.

Weak Government and Strong Police

But all this "steam" was bottled up at the very top. The weak Czar, Nicolas II, was dominated by his attractive but obstinate wife, a former German princess, whose main interest was to give Russia a male heir. After a series of daughters, a Tsarevich was finally born but he had hemophilia and the Tsarina turned to religion for medical help. Unfortunately, the chief "holy man" to whom she turned was the dissolute monk, Rasputin, who came to dominate her, then the royal family and the court, and finally much of the government.

The industrial boom in Russia had produced a great expansion in the working class, largely former peasants who flocked to the cities where they lived in overcrowded slums. A key figure in the government at this time was the President of the Council of Ministers, Count Witt. He believed that the peasants were loyal to the Czar and that the danger lay in the new industrialists and the thousands of city workers who could be stirred by agitators.

Under Witt's orders, therefore, and under the direction of Sergei Zubatov, a high police official, there was founded in Moscow, in May of 1901, the "Society for Mutual Aid for Workingmen in the Mechanical Industries." Its bylaws and finances were approved by the Czar's police, and secret agents played an active role in its meetings. Uniformed police frequently attended and did nothing to check the growth of the society. Within a year it had over 50,000 members, almost all real working men, from whom trouble makers were weeded out by the police. Pushed on by this and related organizations in other cities, the Russian workers began staging strikes, one of which spread across all of southern Russia. In St. Petersburg the new movement of the workers was headed by a man named George Gapon, a priest who had secret police backing.

In February of 1904, partly due to the activities of a group of Russian speculators and adventurers who were pushing for Russian expansion in the Far East, war broke out between Japan and Russia. At first the struggle

had considerable support but the Russian Navy and Army suffered a series of humiliating defeats and a peace was finally worked out between the two powers partly with American assistance.

Start of the 1905 Revolution

As misery and discontent spread in defeated Russia the working masses turned in general neither to the Bolsheviks nor the Mensheviks, but to the various labor organizations which had been established by the police. In St. Petersburg this meant the Workers Society headed by the naive Father Gapon. When more than 200,000 workers and their families demanded to see the Czar, Father Gapon, on 22 January 1905, led them to the Winter Palace. They were unarmed and many of them carried icons and sang such patriotic songs as "God save the Czar." The march was headed by Father Gapon who carried a scroll bearing the chief demands of the workers, including such reasonable requests as an eight-hour working day, a minimum daily wage of one ruble, and the ending of overtime work without extra pay.

When the peaceful workers reached the palace the Czar Nicholas was not there. Instead the troops and Cossacks closed in upon them, mowing them down at close range. The general estimate of casualties was put at 500 dead and more than 300 wounded. But the greatest casualty of the day was the belief of the workers and peasants that their father, the Czar, would help them solve their problems. After 22 January, it was clear that the masses of Russia would have to solve their own problems.

The Communists and the 1905 Revolution

Among Russian revolutionaries in the early years of the 20th century, there were three conflicting points of view. The Mensheviks felt that socialism would come in two steps, first a bourgeois revolution and later a proletarian one. The second point of view, which was held by Trotsky among others, was that the two uprisings could be combined. Lenin's position was pragmatic "Let's take the power and then see what happens to the state."

As events in Russia speeded up, these different points of view led the Mensheviks, now led by Trotsky, in the spring of 1905, to hold a conference in Geneva. In response, Lenin organized a small congress of Bolsheviks in London. This meeting strengthened the centralist control of Lenin and the high command of the Social Democrat Labor Party over its members and politics. But it was too late for theory or remote action. Finding he could no longer influence results from Geneva, Lenin started back to Russia in October 1905. Trotsky, had come back ahead of him, however, and the Mensheviks had seized the leadership of the St. Petersburg workers. They did this by forming councils of working men's representatives, better known as "Soviets," which is the Russian word for council. Every hundred workers were allowed to elect one delegate to a Central Council. The Mensheviks were able to gain a majority of the delegates and Trotsky was elected Chairman.

The General Strike of 1905

At that time in Russia there were few trade union organizations outside St. Petersburg. Thus, when a general strike in October 1905 spread to some 120 cities and included almost every industry, trade, and profession, the workers throughout most of Russia looked to the workers of St. Petersburg for leadership. The workers of St. Petersburg turned to their council or "Soviet of Workingmen's Delegations." Thus, partly by design and partly by luck, the St. Petersburg Soviet became a combination of general strike committee, parliament of labor, and even a rival to the national government. If that Soviet had included soldier delegates in any numbers, it might have held decisive political power. In the face of what amounted to national paralysis, the Czar announced that he would "give the people their civil rights, freedom of speech and press, and have all laws confirmed by a state duma - and that there would, of course, be a constitution" (Ref 2, pp 322-323). These were fine words, but little came of them. The Soviet was surrounded by the military, censorship continued to exist, the universities were occupied by troops, and the prisons were filled to overflowing. As Trotsky wrote, "everything is given - and nothing is given."

The Czar's Manifesto of October 17, which had actually been drafted by Count Witt, was intended to drive a wedge between the more moderate section of the people and the striking workers. Trotsky, on a balcony in St. Petersburg, tore up a copy of the manifesto to demonstrate his contention that it was "a whip wrapped in a constitution." But the crowds cheered the Czar and the strike fever died away.

Through its control of the printers, the St. Petersburg Soviet set up a censorship of its own which refused to permit the printing of opposition texts on the Soviet or its leaders, and hampered publicity by competing groups such as the "Liberal Zemstvo Congress." It was the first indication of the censorship which the Communist dictatorship would later apply.

The Radical Tide Ebbs

Encouraged by the progress they thought they had made, the workers of St. Petersburg, on 13 November, limited their working day to eight hours, which resulted in the dismissal of large numbers of men by the factory owners. The leaders of the Soviet then set the date of 15 November for a second general strike. But the nationwide anonymity of the first walk-out was missing; store-keepers, government employees, and many other groups refused to participate, and the common front against the government melted away. Lenin, who was, at this time, in Stockholm trying to get into Russia, summed up the situation by saying "Tsarism is no longer able to suppress the revolution, the revolution is still unable to destroy Tsarism" (Ref 2, p 326).

Quite naturally, the forces of reaction came forward during this period, nationalities were played against each other, special armed groups were formed, and "loyal" regiments were moved in where needed. In addition, the police paid bands of hooligans, degenerates, and evil-doers to carry on a kind of brutal guerrilla warfare against individuals or groups who were opposing the Czar. This was the tactic of making use of "the scum" which was later adopted by the Communists and has been used by them in various successful and unsuccessful revolutions in other lands.

By 9 December the government felt strong enough to arrest Khrustalev who had been presiding over the St. Petersburg Soviet. That organization drafted a financial manifesto, a run developed on the Russian banks, and the police moved in and arrested the entire executive committee of the Council of Workingmen's Delegates.

The center of action then moved to Moscow where, guided from afar by Lenin, the workers had received detailed instructions on street fighting and individual terror. By December 21, 1905, there were barricades all over the city and bloody clashes occurred between the armed strikers and the police, but the insurrection had no on-the-spot leadership equal to the occasion and no real strategic plan. Armed only with a few hundred pistols and old rifles, the workers of Moscow were no match for the tens of thousands of troops that were moved against them. The insurgents were pushed back to the Presnya District, the workingmen's quarter. When reliable troops reached the city, this area was bombarded with artillery and attacked by regular Army units. The casualties among the militant workers were high but they were probably higher among innocent men, women, and children. Once again it was clear for all to see that "the Czar's government was not the people's government" (Ref 2, p 331).

A Period of Superficial Communist Unity (1905-1914)

Meanwhile the Communists, both in and out of jail, indulged in a great deal of soul-searching and self-analysis. As a result they came up with the conclusion that they had pushed the proletarian takeover too fast, and that in the future the workers of Russia should work to center power in the bourgeoisie, at least for a while. Trotsky spent most of the next ten years in exile attacking both Mensheviks and Bolsheviks for such quarreling and emphasizing the need for "revolutionary solidarity." This meant fighting against Lenin, in particular, since he was the great disciple of Bolshevik independence. Before the end of 1905 the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks had organized a provisional "Party Executive Committee" with three representatives from each faction on its board. Furthermore, they started printing a common Communist daily newspaper with a joint editorial board headed by Lunacharsky.

The move towards unity reached its high point in 1907 at a congress in London, and for a while the relative strength of the two groups was so nearly balanced that minority factions such as the Poles and the "Jewish Socialist Bund" actually held the power. This, of course, was not pleasing to Lenin who kept his Bolshevik apparatus alive. By making use of the Polish delegates, he got a majority for the Bolsheviks on the Central Committee of the Party.

But even this was not enough to give him the kind of power he wanted, and he still held his secret "Bolshevik caucus" on a functioning basis.

The Problems of Limited Suffrage in Russia

Events continued to move rapidly in Russia. Suffrage had been extended to all Russian males after the October manifesto of the Czar, but voting was by estates or classes, and was weighted by property qualifications. Further, in the factories the men voted directly for their delegate to a higher voting body, which then sent delegates to a "Workers' Curia" or general electoral college of the city. This in turn chose the deputies for the Duma. Lenin at first denounced this method of voting as undemocratic, and demanded universal, direct, equal, and secret suffrage. However, when the Bolsheviks finally took over power, Lenin and his followers promptly adopted a somewhat similar pattern of unequal, indirect, limited, and unsecret suffrage in order to maintain the Bolshevik majority.

Because of this complicated voting process both the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks at first boycotted the elections for a Russian Duma. But the Mensheviks soon realized that this would get them nowhere, and instead participated in the election. Actually, the workers voted for the candidates who held the most advanced view and the Constitutional Democrats, originally made up of liberal intelligentsia and known as the "Kadets," became the largest party in the Duma, with 190 seats under the leadership of Miliukov. At the same time the party of the "Agrarian Laborites", known as the "Trudoviki" (in Russian the word Trud means labor), under the leadership of the relatively middle-of-the-road reformer Kerensky, gained 94 seats.

For the next four years the Duma was the most important problem faced by the leaders of the revolution, and even Lenin swung back and forth on it. In July of 1906, the first Duma tried to take up the question of land reform and the Czar ordered it dissolved. At this, most of the democratic and socialist deputies fled to Finland, and in a manifesto called upon the people of Russia to stop paying further taxes or serving as recruits until the Duma was allowed to meet once more. The working men in the big cities, exhausted after the dramatic events of 1905, remained quiet, but the peasants rioted in many provinces and there were mutinies in parts of the Russian fleet and various military and naval garrisons. At this, the government put down the disturbances by force, tried and executed some of the ring leaders and then, surprisingly enough, called elections for a second Duma.

The Role of the Mensheviks.

The Mensheviks, who controlled the central committee of the Social Democrats, proposed forming an electoral block with the Kadets and, when Lenin tried to mobilize the Social Democratic Party membership against this move, he was charged with "conduct impermissible in a Party member" and put on trial by a Party Court (Ref 2, p 355). This "trial" came to a quick end when, at the congress of the Social Democratic Party in London in the spring of 1907, Lenin succeeded in gaining a small numerical majority, but the problem of the Duma continued to vex the leadership of the supposedly united party.

While Lenin was continuing his fight against the Mensheviks' deputies, the Russian government, under Premier Stolypin in June of 1907, suddenly dissolved the second Duma. Then by Ukaz, or Executive order, the government changed the electoral laws, cutting the value of the peasants' votes in half and that of the labor electors by one third; the votes of the Poles, Jews, and other minorities were also reduced. This meant that the third Duma was dominated by landowners, priests, state officials, and other conservative groups while the Kadets, Trudoviks, etc., were reduced to insignificance. But in order to reduce somewhat the grievances of the Russian people, Stolypin put through a series of laws designed to modernize Russian life, break down the communal *Mirs* (villages), and develop a new class of small property-minded peasants who had an inducement to improve their land.

As a result, between 1907 and 1914, some two million peasant families left the communal village *Mirs* to become individual proprietors. By 1916 over six million families out of 16 million peasant groups who were eligible had made applications to become individual landowners. The Communists realized that if this continued, the chances of peasant backing for a revolution were small. In fact in 1917, when Lenin advocated "land to the peasants," they already owned seventy-five percent of it.

Possibly because he was succeeding too well in giving strength and reforms to Russia, Stolypin was murdered in September of 1911 at a performance of the theater in Kiev. The murderer was a member of the terrorist wing of the anarchist movement who also had police connections.

Social Democratic Labor Party Conference of July 1907

In the summer of 1907 Lenin, who by now had control of the central committee of the Social Democratic Labor Party, called another All-Russian Conference to make plans for the elections to the third Duma. There was a strong movement within the Party to boycott the election but Lenin finally won out, partly because of the funds which he and his faction were now obtaining through "exes" or expropriations, a polite term for political robbery. One of the leaders in this method of financing revolution was a young Bolshevik from the Caucasus called Joseph Djugashvili, later known as Stalin.

Stalin's Early Career

There is evidence that the success of the political robberies in the Caucasus were what first brought Stalin to Lenin's attention and started him on his road to eventual power. Actually, his early years do not appear to have been noteworthy, and the leadership role assigned to him by a series of writers in the 1930's and 1940's was manufactured. (One of the most extensive and deliberate rewritings of history took place then, bringing out a series of fictitious or distorted accounts of how Stalin was a great Bolshevik leader from his earliest years. He was represented as directing operations and guiding thought in meetings or groups to which he either never belonged or in which he had an insignificant role. This campaign of

glorification was led by Stalin's disciple, Lavrenti Beria, who partly because of it was given by Stalin the position of head of the dreaded All-Russian GPU (Secret Political Police). Persons who knew too much or who talked or wrote in a way to discredit the image of Stalin's early great career often disappeared without a trace.)

It is known, however, that Stalin was born in the small town of Gori in Georgia on 21 December 1879, and the house in which this event occurred is still a national shrine. His father was a peasant and a cobbler, although, for Party reasons, Stalin chose to have it known that he was the son of a factory worker (Ref 2, p 408).

When Stalin was 11, his father died; at age 15, his mother got a scholarship for him to attend the Tiflis Theological Seminary where, in theory, he was taught loyalty to God and to the Czar. Sometime in the spring of 1899 (the date is not certain), Djugashvili was expelled from the seminary as undesirable, although the Stalin legend, developed many years later, claims that he was forced out for propagating Marxism. In fact, the Stalin legend pictures him as an advanced Marxist at the age of 15, conducting classes for the workers, organizing meetings, leading strikes, and generally dominating the revolutionary movement in the area.

Stalin Becomes a Revolutionary

On leaving the seminary, Djugashvili made money for a while by tutoring; one of his students was the notorious Kamo, who later played a leading role in many of the Party's political robberies. The only real job held by Djugashvili during this period was that of an assistant in the Tiflis observatory, but it did not last long and by May of 1901, to escape a police network, he fled to his native village of Gori. From then on his main efforts were directed toward being a professional revolutionary. By the autumn of that year he was a member of the local committee of the Tiflis Social Democratic Party. The "Stalin legend" depicts him as a wise and forceful leader from then on, but police records and the accounts of people who knew Stalin at this time present a very different picture. It is clear, however, that he was arrested in April of 1902 and, after over a year in a local jail, was exiled to eastern Siberia. But Djugashvili escaped from Siberia in January 1904 and was able to return to Tiflis and Batum.

While he was still in prison, the Social Democratic Party Congress of 1905 resulted in a split which upset most older members of the Party. But, according to the Stalin legend, the 23-year-old revolutionary greeted this as a constructive event which proved Lenin's wisdom and the importance of following his leadership. According to the legend, Stalin's friendship for and closeness to Lenin dates from this period, although the known facts make this most unlikely.

In fact, there is almost no mention of Stalin in letters or memoranda by party leaders during these early years (Ref 2, p 432). It was not until 1930 that the official biographers discovered that, in the early years of the 20th century, Stalin, almost single-handed, converted the Trans-Caucasus into a

Bolshevik stronghold. Actually, as late as 1912, the Mensheviks dominated the revolutionary movement there and this was generally recognized until 1935 when Beria, as head of the secret police, began to rewrite Russian history. Then a wave of imprisonments and executions caused a number of people who had known Djugashvili in the early days to lose their memories or rewrite their memoirs.

The Baku Printing Press

One of the most important activities of the revolutionaries in the Caucasus in the early days was the setting up and operating of a secret printing press in the cellars of several houses in the Tartar section of Baku. In spite of the difficulties of working without heat, ventilation, or windows, this press turned out a large amount of Communist literature, including 10,000 copies of Lenin's newspaper Iskra, the Communist Manifesto, Lenin's What's to be Done, and similar important works. Although Stalin's name did not appear in connection with this plant until about 1935, Beria in that year in a lecture on Bolshevik organizations made the remarkable statement that the successful Baku printing plant was established "on the initiative of Comrade Stalin and under the direction of the Tiflis Committee headed by Comrade Stalin" (Ref 2, p 442).

Djugashvili returned from Siberia in 1904 and soon afterwards married a Georgian girl named Ekaterina Svanidze, a domestic-minded peasant who was loyal to him throughout her life; they were happy in a companionship which he dominated completely. They had one child, Yasha (Jacob) Djugashvili. After the death of his first wife, he married again in 1919 and had another son (Vasili Yosifovich Stalin) who, in later days, received great publicity and even became a major general. By this marriage Stalin also had a daughter, Svetlana.

By the end of 1905, Djugashvili is shown by authoritative records to have joined the Bolshevik faction and to have started writing in support of Lenin doctrines using a series of pseudonyms which in 1913 crystallized in the name of "Stalin". His style was frequently dull and when he tried to make it more popular it became over-ornate; much of the thinking involved a reworking of Lenin's ideas. As an orator, Stalin was only mediocre, but as an organizer of political machines he was truly outstanding. As Lenin got to know him, the older leader recognized these strengths and weaknesses and used them accordingly.

Apparently they first met in December of 1905 at a conference of the Social Democratic Party in Tammerfors, Finland, and again at the Party Unity Congress in Stockholm in 1906. From then on, Lenin used Djugashvili to a growing extent in the "exes" and other acts of violence which were carried out by the secret Lenin faction within the Bolshevik party. When the majority of the Social Democrats voted against this form of violence, Djugashvili was tried, convicted, and in theory read-out of the party. But this increased the high regard Lenin felt for him as a terrorist and bank-robber and Lenin put him on the Central Committee of his own Bolshevik faction. In a letter to the writer Gorky in February of 1913, Lenin, who

wanted support against the Mensheviks in the Trans-Caucasus, referred to Djugashvili as a " wonderful Georgian" (Ref 2, p 472).

Expanded Police Activities after 1905

In spite of their actions within Russia proper, the Czar's police respected the autonomy of Finland so that Lenin, his wife Krupskaya, and several others of his followers were able to operate in that country with Krupskaya making frequent trips to St. Petersburg. Even in Finland Lenin began to feel isolated as the Czar's police expanded their activities through the skillful use of spies. They penetrated many local committees and regional groups, and were even able to place their agents high up in the Social Democratic organization. By 1912 there were two police agents on the staff of the Bolshevik paper Pravda, and one actually founded the Bolshevik newspaper in Moscow. Still another agent was a member of the Bolshevik Central Committee and one of Lenin's closest operatives. Hard as it is to believe, a police informer became the top leader and director of the fighting faction, or terrorist wing of the Social Revolutionary Party, a post he held until his exposure in 1909. Directly or indirectly, he was responsible for the assassination of Minister of the Interior Plehve in 1904, the Grand Duke Sergei in 1905, the wounding of a general in 1906, and the execution of Father Gapon when that simple-minded individual reentered Russia and took up police work in 1906. It was not surprising, therefore, that the Czar's agents could improve their methods, and arrest some of Lenin's top lieutenants, including Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Roshkob.

Fearing that he might be seized even in Finland, Lenin fled across the ice to an island in midwinter of 1907, proceeded to Berlin, and thence to Geneva, where he became gloomy and frequently ill. Lenin had little money but he studied Marx and Engels and continued his correspondence with agents even though he realized that many of his letters were never delivered. By the year 1909 the Social Democratic Party had almost disappeared as a unit, but Lenin continued to push his policies with those who would still listen to or obey him.

Growing Role of Trotsky

Trotsky had escaped from Siberia in 1907 by hiding under a load of hay in a sleigh pulled by reindeer, and went to London for the so-called Unity Congress (Ref 2, p 335). Over the next seven years he tried to maintain a position between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks or at least between the Mensheviks and Lenin's extremist group. Actually, he became a rallying center for so many Mensheviks that Lenin attacked him for forming what became known as the "August Bloc." But Trotsky was not an organizer. Moving to Vienna in 1908 he started his own paper the Vienna Pravda which worked for party unity while at the same time emphasizing the doctrines of "permanent revolution."

During these years, Trotsky also made a more detailed study of Marx and Engels and refined his theories, some of which he was later able to put into practice in Russia. He then went as a war correspondent to the Balkans

and even spent some time in America. His brilliance was unquestioned; his knowledge of revolutionary literature tremendous; had he been able to organize a strong group around him, the history of the Russian Revolution would have been very different.

Party Domination by Lenin and his Faction

Lenin in 1909 openly took the position that his faction of the Bolsheviks was the Party itself. The intraparty struggles of this period are involved, tiresome, and often theoretical, but their eventual result was the Bolshevik dictatorship which has dominated Russia since 1917 and which, in varying forms, is to be found in all other Communist countries in the world.

In the long period of argument, denunciation, splits, and counter-splits, Lenin was almost the only leader who had a plan. Others did and said what they thought was "right"; Lenin did and said what he believed would give him complete control of the organization with which he expected to take over Russia. He was quite willing that the split in the party should continue until the other elements accepted his tactics and his leadership of his faction and his Central Committee. By 1914 not only the Mensheviks but many of the Bolsheviks were tired of Lenin and his dictatorial ways, and the Socialist Internationalists called for an all-Russian conference to be held in Brussels in July of 1914. Had this gathering taken place, Lenin's position might have been permanently undermined. But World War I broke out and, making use of the chaos which it produced in Socialist circles, Lenin was able to complete the splitting of the Socialist International and replace it with his own Communist International.

Malinovsky - Greatest of the Double Agents

Looking back over those years, the penetration of the Socialist movement by Czarist agents was so great that it is hard to see how the Revolution ever succeeded. Almost nothing that the Socialists or Communists did escaped the notice of the Czar's spies. (If the Czar's government had executed a dozen of the top revolutionary leaders on whom it had detailed information the provisional government of Kerensky, which replaced the Czar in 1917, (See p 20) might not have been overthrown and the history of the 20th century would have been far less bloody).

Even Lenin seems to have been fooled by some of the Czar's top double agents. One of the spies who had worked closely with him in various "exes," in counterfeiting money, and in liquidating opponents was a man named Zhitomirsky. After several warnings by trusted friends, Lenin sent a close advisor named Malinovsky to look into his reliability. It was only after 1917 that Lenin and the Bolsheviks learned that Malinovsky himself was probably the most skillful of the Czar's double agents. He was a Russian Pole born in 1878. He first met Lenin at the Prague Party Conference in 1912. After several convictions for burglary, the police realized that he was a heavy spender and they put him on their list as a police informer.

Malinovsky wished to rise in the revolutionary labor movement, so he

founded the St. Petersburg Metal Workers Union and later became its secretary. Politically, he wavered between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks, largely for opportunistic reasons. Through a combination of hard work in the labor field, plus frequent reports to the police on what was happening in the unions of St. Petersburg and Moscow, he became esteemed by both the police and the Social Democratic Party.

Because the police feared what would happen if the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks should unite, Malinovsky was instructed to do all he could to expand the split in the Social Democratic Party, a move which coincided exactly with Lenin's desires. Malinovsky, thereupon, joined the Bolshevik faction and rose rapidly in it, largely by the technique of tipping off the police about those who stood above him. In 1912 Malinovsky turned up at the Party conference organized by Lenin in Prague in order that his Bolsheviks could capture the Central Committee of the Party. Lenin was so pleased with this representative of the Moscow Trade Unions and the Bolshevik underground, whose ideas appeared to coincide with his own, that he had Malinovsky elected to the new or Leninist Central Committee of the Party and urged him to run for the Duma. This, of course, appealed to the police as well as the Bolsheviks, and they both worked hard to secure his election, a process which involved getting him a bogus certificate of good repute and arresting various other candidates.

Malinovsky thus became a Deputy in the Fourth Imperial Duma in November of 1912, a body which stayed in being until the Revolution of 1917. In it were 13 representatives of the Social Democratic Party, 7 Mensheviks, and 6 Bolsheviks who voted as a rule as a single block. Malinovsky was chosen as Vice-Chairman of the delegation and the Czar's police raised his salary to 500 rubles a month.

Malinovsky Betrays His Comrades

Although pleased with Malinovsky's election, Lenin was as unhappy at the unity shown by the Social Democratic Deputies as were the Czar's police. Therefore Lenin sent one of his best organizers, Jacob Sverdlov, to push a split but Malinovsky tipped off the police and he was arrested. Lenin then sent Stalin to do the job but he also was captured on a tip from the double agent. By October of 1913, aided by the new editor-in-chief of Pravda, who was still another police agent, Malinovsky was finally able to split the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in the Duma.

By this time Malinovsky may himself have been confused as to who he was working for, but he continued his career. Warnings against him sent to high Bolsheviks were ignored and Lenin called him to the Polish city of Cracow for many important and highly confidential meetings. In fact, Malinovsky frequently travelled with Lenin on speaking tours, helping him build his organization, and set up Bolshevik printing plants.

Finally, however, in May of 1914 the pressure on Malinovsky became too great and "for reasons of health" he handed in his resignation as a Deputy and left Russia. Before long rumors about him began to spread and the

Bolshevik Central Committee set up an investigating committee headed by Lenin. Malinovsky was acquitted, partly because of Lenin's support of him, and Malinovsky spent much of the war in a German prison camp where Lenin sent him food parcels and literature.

Finally, when the war was over and the Bolsheviks had been in power in Russia for about a year, Malinovsky re-entered that country, went to St. Petersburg (by then known as Petrograd), and demanded to be tried. After a relatively long and open trial Malinovsky was convicted and promptly shot. The question of whether Lenin may have known that he was a Czarist agent all along has never been made clear.

The Communist Paper Pravda - 1912

By the spring of 1912 Lenin was firmly in control of the Bolshevik wing of the Communist Party and its treasury had been filled by a gift of 100,000 rubles from a millionaire merchant of Kazan. Lenin used the money to set up a paper which he called Pravda (Truth). But once again the board of editors split over the Bolshevik-Menshevik issue, a fight in which Molotov and Stalin both proved useful to the "old master." The paper was shut down nine times, but always reappeared with a slightly different name; thus "Truth" became "Workers' Truth," "Truth of Labor," "Proletarian Truth," etc., and continued to be sold up to the outbreak of World War I. When the Czar fell in March of 1917, "Truth" came out once again and is still published as Pravda.

During those last years before the war, Lenin operated out of Cracow because of its closeness to Russia, a location which incidentally taught him much about the East European nationality problem. His willingness to help younger comrades such as Stalin - if they were writing ideas in which he believed - has made some persons feel that his thinking mellowed during this period, but looking back upon them it appears that most of his mellowness was expediency.

In the years after 1912 war fever was mounting throughout Europe, armaments were increasing, and crisis followed crisis. This resulted in a great deal of debate and soul-searching among Socialists and Communists alike as to what should be the role of the workers in case of war. As developed at an emergency congress of the International at Basel in 1912, the consensus was that war "would call for the revolt of the working class."

Communism and World War I

Start of World War I

Finally, on 28 June 1914, the old order began to break up, when Archduke Ferdinand, the heir to the Hapsburg throne, was murdered in the Slavic town of Sarajevo. Within a month the Austrians had sent an ultimatum to Serbia. Austria had rejected the conciliatory reply, and war was declared. Soon, all Europe was involved in this struggle, a total war of a type unthought of in Europe for 100 years.

Lenin, who was on vacation in a mountain village near Cracow, was arrested as a spy; it took all his best connections to put off his execution and get him released so that he might go to Switzerland. Trotsky, who was in Vienna, fled to the same country a few hours ahead of the police who were closing in on him, while Stalin, in remote Siberia, remained in detention for three more years.

Surprising Reaction of French and German Workers

The workers of Europe did not react according to plan. Whereas most Socialists had assumed that they would refuse to work or fight in a "capitalist war," the powerful German Social Democratic Party of 110 members voted solidly to support the Kaiser in the struggle. That same day, the French Socialist Deputies also voted to support their government. At first, many of the revolutionary leaders refused to believe that this had actually happened, but for Lenin it was another proof that his extremist position had always been right.

In Bern, he called together a half dozen of his comrades and read them a new pamphlet entitled Seven Theses on the War, which branded the struggle as bourgeois and imperialist. It called the actions of the French and German Social Democrats "a direct betrayal of Socialism," and stated that this betrayal meant the ideological collapse of the Socialist International in the face of petty-bourgeois opportunism. It called for the Social Democrats in Russia to rally in a struggle against Czarist-Monarchist chauvinism, and pointed out that for the toiling masses of Russia any outcome of the war would be an evil, but that the lesser evil would be the defeat of the Czarist-Monarchs. The paper then stated that Social Democracy in Russia must work for a Socialist Revolution and the turning of weapons against bourgeois governments and parties in all countries. It ended with a rousing "appeal to the revolutionary conscience of the working masses" . . . to rise "against the leaders of the present International who have betrayed Socialism" (Ref 2, p 637).

Over the next months a few additional goals for the Russian workers, or slogans as the Communists like to call them, were added to the Seven Theses on the War. They included the need for a struggle against the Czarist Monarchy and Great-Russian Pan-Slavist chauvinism, the preaching of a Revolution in Russia, and the liberation and self-determination of the nationalities oppressed by Russia - on the basis of the immediate slogans: a Democratic Republic, confiscation of the landowners' lands, the eight-hour day, etc. (Ref 2, p 637)

Thus, Lenin and his hard core of Bolsheviks proclaimed their goals to the world. Once defeat had disintegrated the government of Russia and Lenin had come on to the center of the stage he knew exactly what his lines and his actions would be.

Lenin is Returned to Russia

By 1917 the people of Russia had every grievance necessary to produce a basic revolution. Although the peasants were better off than ever before, they were still backward by Western standards. The workers, of whom there were a growing number, had wages, hours, working conditions, labor unions,

etc., which were far behind those of Europe. The intellectuals were deeply disturbed by the lag in modernization, the lack of civil rights, and the social blindness of the Czar and his family. In addition, the military felt neglected, politicians were frustrated, and even many aristocrats had begun to desert the establishment.

The immediate cause of Russia's collapse however grew out of reverses in World War I. Food became scarce, transportation broke down, prices rose sharply, and the military found themselves ill-equipped to match the German war machine.

As the bread lines in the cities lengthened, rioting broke out in March of 1917 in St. Petersburg and the troops not only refused to fire on the workers but actually joined the demonstrators. Seeing that he had no support, Czar Nicholas II abdicated on 15 March 1917 and was replaced by a provisional government which was largely upper bourgeois and official in character. Meanwhile, liberal socialists and radicals organized a council known as the "Petrograd Soviet of Worker's and Soldier's Deputies."

In order to disrupt Russia still further, the Germans, in April of 1917, arranged to have the Communist leader Lenin taken from Switzerland to Petrograd in a sealed train. With his usual incisiveness Lenin looked over the situation, evaluated the grievances of the people and adopted the slogan, "Peace, Land, and Bread - All Power to the Soviets." He also set about rapid and widespread organization of the workers and soldiers. Lenin realized that in Russia at that time the farm elements were definitely less important to a revolution than were city workers and soldiers, so he pushed his propaganda and organization in the Army and in the factories. As the front against the Germans collapsed, the cities became jammed with disillusioned and hungry men many of whom still had their rifles. From these and other armed groups Lenin formed what he called "Red Guards." He devoted much attention to gaining support for the Communists among the transport workers, particularly those who ran the railroads, and he set up Soviets in the factories making rifles and ammunition. Within three months this policy had so strengthened Lenin's faction that Leon Trotsky, leader of the Social Democratic Party changed over and joined the Bolsheviks.

The head of the moderately liberal provisional government was a man named Kerensky. He realized what was going on and in July of 1917 tried to use parts of the Army to smash the Soviets. But the transport workers struck, few anti-Communist troops reached the big cities, the mass of the workers were embittered and, as a result, the provisional government was discredited.

The Bolsheviks Take Russia

A meeting of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets was set for early November and, although he controlled the Petrograd Soviets, Lenin's faction did not dominate this nation-wide gathering. As a result he decided to strike before it could meet, a move in which he was greatly assisted by Trotsky who turned out to be something of a military genius. After holding maneuvers, units of the Red Guard and groups of soldiers and workers loyal to the Bolsheviks carried out a sudden coup early in November. The decision hung in the balance for a few hours, after which the Bolshevik leaders controlled most of the city of Petrograd. Lenin promptly put an end to the provisional

government and on 7 November declared that the Congress of Soviets was the real government of Russia, functioning through a Central Executive Committee of 110 members. By a combination of force and tricky parliamentary actions, the Bolsheviks were able to elect 60 of this committee, thereby dominating the Congress and the city. Lenin then organized a cabinet known as the Council of People's Commissars; he became the Chairman and Trotsky Commissar for Foreign Affairs and for War. Embittered by Lenin's steam-roller tactics, many of the non-Communist members of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets walked out of the meeting-hall, thereby giving the Bolsheviks overwhelming power in that Congress.

During the rest of November and December the Bolsheviks used much the same tactics to gain control of various other Russian cities, though it was many months before they controlled the Russian countryside, which disintegrated into anarchy. In March of 1918 Lenin's government signed a treaty of peace with the Germans which, although disadvantageous to Russia, nevertheless ended the war and allowed the Communists freedom to fight their internal enemies.

Three Years of Civil War

During the next three years the Red Army, the Red Guards, the Red Partisans, and the Workers were able to fight off no less than five attacks from such elements as Russian Czarist conservatives, right-wing socialists, and Cossacks, plus British, French, Japanese, and even American armies. This counterrevolutionary struggle was marked by widespread arrests, executions, and atrocities on both sides, but by 1921, Lenin and his commissars were in control of most of the former Russian empire. His pattern of taking power through the workers and soldiers, with limited support from the peasants, had proved itself successful. From their newly established capital in Moscow, the commissars firmly believed that the same tactics could be used elsewhere throughout the world.

The New Economic Policy

Apart from the problems growing out of this civil strife, a widespread famine in 1920, and a war with Poland the same year, the economy of Russia was greatly slowed down during the three years following the Bolshevik seizure of power by Lenin's effort to apply Marxist Communism. After three years, it was clear that this did not provide adequate inducements to labor or farmers. Overall industrial production fell to less than half the prewar level; fuel was not available, Russian money had become worthless, and discontent and disillusionment spread among peasants, workers, and even liberals and Communists. Practices such as moving workers against their will to cities where it was thought they were needed, using troops to enforce grain collections, shutting privately owned factories and shops, dispossessing house owners, confiscating valuables (including bank deposits), and the poorly enforced system of food rationing all spread bitterness.

Finally in March of 1921, the sailors of the Russian fleet at the naval base of Kronstadt mutinied and the disaffection among the military spread. Lenin, therefore, to save the regime, retreated from the practice of pure or

"war time" communism and established a different pattern known as the "New Economic Policy." Under this, a "Department of Economic Planning" was created, some private trade was introduced, individuals were allowed to have bank accounts, small factories could be operated by private owners, the value of money was restored, cooperatives were strengthened, and the uneconomic practice of paying everyone the same wage was ended. In the countryside, peasants were permitted to sell part of their produce on the free market and the use of troops to carry out state decrees was greatly cut down (Ref 3, pp 255-259).

This retreat from theoretical communism was an example of Communist opportunism, a case of taking "two steps forward followed by one step back," when necessary. It saved Russia from further civil war and complete economic collapse, and it permitted the Communists to continue to run Russia with most land, and all large industries, banks, etc., nationalized. After another winter of hardship and famine the peasants started to work again; factory output rose, thanks partly to outside technicians; and state planning was put on a more reasonable basis. In addition, new labor codes were drawn up regulating working hours, child labor, accident insurance, health regulations, and similar matters.

In order to end the separatist tendencies which were pulling Russia apart, a "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" (the USSR) was established, with supreme authority stemming from a Central Executive Committee which was run by a Presidium of 19 members and a Council of Peoples Commissars.

The Rise of Stalin

Internal Struggle for Power

Lenin had a stroke in 1922 and died in January of 1924. A struggle for power then developed among the top Bolsheviks, particularly between the brilliant, internationally minded Trotsky and the tough, Russian-oriented, "organization man" Stalin. Differing widely in temperament and outlook, the two men clashed on such matters as party discipline, the planning of the economy, the possibility of building communism in one country - Russia - versus the pushing of world revolution, the role of the peasant and trade unions and, above all, the problem of iron-clad adherence by all Party members to the decisions of the top Party leaders. Trotsky won debate after debate through his brilliance and broad knowledge, but Stalin, who had been Secretary General of the Communist Party since 1922, steadily strengthened his hold on the party machinery. After getting rid of some of Trotsky's supporters, such as Kamenev and Zinoviev, Stalin had Trotsky expelled from the Central Committee of the Party in 1927; he was then banned from the Party itself, and banished to Siberia in 1928. The next year Trotsky was expelled from the Soviet Union and he eventually settled down in Mexico where, in 1940, he was murdered, probably by agents of Stalin.

Stalin Takes Over

During the first ten years after the Bolshevik seizure of power, the congresses held by the Russian Communist Party were reasonably democratic.

After 1918, however, Stalin increased his power and control shifted first to the Central Committee and then to the all-powerful Politbureau, made up of no more than 10 members (Ref 3, pp 260-265). In addition, Stalin came to dominate the Politbureau so completely that from about 1930 on even that inner body became largely a rubber stamp for Stalin and his associates.

The First Five-Year Plan 1928-32

During most of the 1920s the Russian economy was a patch-work of nationally owned heavy industry and big farms, working side by side with privately owned small factories, shops, and little farms. By 1928 the Communists felt that they were strong enough to reorganize the Russian economy in a more socialistic form. The medium they chose for doing this was the first Five-Year Plan, which was put into effect in 1928. Under it, private enterprise was choked off little by little through taxation and government competition, lack of credit, high rents, and personal discrimination. Meanwhile, the government sector of the economy was strengthened with greater mechanization of the coal, steel, and iron industries. New plants were built, more oil wells drilled, and much emphasis was put on the production of trucks, tractors, and a few automobiles. Power for much of this came from expanded electrification facilities centered around a high new dam on the Dnieper River. In addition, more railroads were built and additional roads hardsurfaced. After only three years of the first Five-Year Plan it has been estimated that private trade dropped from about 40 to 15 percent of the total. In spite of much dissatisfaction and hardship among the workers, serious weaknesses in transportation, low productivity of labor, poor quality of output, and high production costs, the national output increased.

Agricultural Problems

The problems of socializing agriculture, however, were more difficult, and when the Communists sought to change the peasant into a worker and industrialize agriculture they ran into deep-seated opposition (Ref 3, p 269). The Plan called for the setting up of a large number of collective farms, known as Kolkhoz, in which the peasants owned all the land and facilities except for some machinery which was rented from central depots known as "tractor stations." Each collective farm was given a quota of wheat, rye, oats, sugarbeets, etc., which had to be delivered to the state. Produce above the quota went first to pay the expenses of the Kolkhoz and the tractor station. Whatever was left over could be sold on the free market and either distributed among the members or spent on improvements for the farm. In theory this sounded good, but in practice quotas were set so high that there was little left over for the peasants, discipline was strict, fines were heavy, and few peasants were satisfied. Furthermore, the Kolkhoz turned out to be only a step towards the Sovkhoz, a completely state-owned and state-run farm-factory.

Meanwhile, a few peasants were allowed to keep their own farms; since they were working for themselves they tended to prosper, particularly in rich farming areas such as the Ukraine and the Kuban. As a result peasants on the collective farms became dissatisfied and the government was forced to move against the independent farmers. This was done by accusing them of being Kulaks or rich farmers who were said to be exploiting poor farm hands

and operating in the black market. Beginning in 1930 the houses, lands, and possessions of the so-called Kulaks were confiscated, and when the farmers objected, troops were moved in; tens of thousands of innocent men, women, and children were arrested and sent to Siberia; and hundreds of thousands more had their crops confiscated and died of starvation unless they agreed to join state farms. The result of all this was the man-made famine of 1932-33. It was, however, the virtual end of private farming in Russia, a development which has been called by some observers "the real revolution."

Along with these changes in industry, agriculture, and trade went basic social changes, including an effort to reduce the importance of the family, and to make women equal with men in terms of employment and earnings. There were also widespread changes in education, including compulsory schooling for all. For many years however, these "advances" existed only on paper. Living standards were terribly low, even for Russia: the housing shortage forced many people to live in one room, and food and consumption goods were scarce. The widespread discontent was held down by Communist Party members, the secret police and, if necessary, by the Army (Ref 3, pp 266-281).

Problems with the Russian Orthodox Church

Widespread discontent existed in almost all circles except the top ranks of the Communist Party and the young Communists who could not remember conditions before the war. It was increased by organized attacks on the Russian Orthodox Church, which had been close to the Czarist regime and had in general done little to help the people advance materially. In spite of guarantees of religious freedom, once the Bolsheviks were in power they ended the privileges of the churchmen, confiscated their lands, and permitted attacks on sacred shrines. Certain thinking elements in the church then carried out reforms through a movement called the "Living Church," and after a period of negotiation the antireligious policy of the Russian government relaxed somewhat. A certain number of churches were allowed to stay open and some theological seminaries reopened.

Various aggressive Communists viewed this religious revival with disapproval, and an extremist group known as the League of Militant Atheists set out to smash what was left of the church, discrediting priests, shutting down churches, and pushing antireligious teachings. In spite of this, enough churches remained open so that many old people could attend them and it became clear, even to the Bolshevik extremists, that they would do well not to push the antireligious campaign too far.

The Party Purges 1930-1935

The mid-1930s saw a continuation of the political in-fighting of the Communist Party, which had started after the death of Lenin. From his key position as Secretary of the Communist Party, Stalin played his cards carefully, moving against his enemies and opponents step by step. First of all, he got rid of a group known as the Rightist Opposition--high Communists who believed that every Party member had a right to criticize decisions of the Party. Among those demoted at this time was Rykov, the Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars, Tomsky who was removed from the leadership of the trade unions, and Bukharin who was forced out of the leadership of the

Comintern. This led to the arrest and trial of other "rightist" Bolshevik leaders who were denounced for incompetence and crimes, including working with the British and the French in attempting to sabotage the Five-Year Plan. Eventually, all these "enemies of the state" were condemned either to prison or to death, not because they were anti-Communist but because they opposed Stalin and the small group of leaders around him.

Once started, this process of "the revolution devouring its own," which had been so terrible during the French Revolution, continued throughout most of the 1930s. As the years passed, leader after leader among the old Bolsheviks was denounced, arrested, tried, forced to make what were often preposterous confessions, and deprived of his position, his freedom, and often his life. Those who did not confess were tortured so extensively that some, like the former trade union leader Tomsky, committed suicide. The well known old Bolsheviks, Zinoviev and Kamenev, confessed and were executed in 1936, and were followed by Bukharin and Rykov in 1938. Along with each of these top leaders there went a group of their followers, who were either shot or sent to Siberia. When this process of liquidation became too much for the Army, unrest began to spread among its officers. Marshal Tukhachevsky and seven other generals were then secretly court martialed and executed, while hundreds of lesser officers were arrested and sent to Siberia. By 1940, only a handful of the old Bolshevik elite, the men who had made the revolution and run the country during the 1920s, remained in power, and most of these feared for their lives should they, in any way, cross Stalin or be denounced by some victim of the purge (Ref 3, pp 289-291).

The New Constitution of 1936

In spite of this period of purge and terror, the 1930s saw the Communist government in Russia strengthened both legally and economically. In a new constitution, which was promulgated by Stalin in 1936, provision was made for legal socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production for some small private enterprises, and for limited personal property, including savings, houses, and furniture. Under it, the USSR, although dominated by the Russian Republic, was made up of ten other Republics: Ukraine, White Russia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Turkmen, Uzhek, Tadzhik, Kazakh, and Kirgiz. After World War II, five more Republics were added, Finland, Modavia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, although these five were done away with in 1946.

In the government, central power rested with a Supreme Soviet whose members were elected for a term of four years. This body had exclusive legislative power and, in turn, elected the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and appointed the Council of Peoples Commissars and the highest judicial body, the Supreme Court of the Soviet Union.

On paper, this constitution looked reasonable since it guaranteed full equality to all individuals regardless of race or nationality; gave them the right to work and to rest; provided education; and bestowed freedom of religious worship, speech, press, and assembly, and privacy of correspondence. Furthermore, discrimination against priests, merchants, and former Czarists officials was ended and all citizens could vote in secret. Actually, however, many of these provisions were ignored or observed only when the government

or the party chose to do so (Ref 3, pp 291-293).

Role of the Communist Party

During this period the real government of Russia was the Communist Party "the vanguard of the working people in their struggle to strengthen and develop the socialist system" (Ref 3, p 294). No other party was allowed in the USSR and admission to it was on the basis of "merit" only. There were only 75,000 Communist Party members in 1923 but the total increased to about a million in 1928 and had grown to 2-1/2 times that number by 1941. In order to limit membership to hard-working and intelligent elements in the population, persons who would take discipline and were known for their loyalty to the Party in general, to communism in particular, and to Stalin above all, there were frequent purges of the Party. These began with "truth sessions" at which members were forced to confess their faults in public. Through these and similar devices Stalin kept the Party at about three percent of the total population. Because it had the right to nominate candidates to public office, the Party dominated the government; influenced the courts, schools, and colleges; and controlled the factories and farms. At the time of the revolution the trade unions had been of great importance but they also came to be dominated by the Party (Ref 3, pp 294-295).

The Second Five-Year Plan

The second Five-Year Plan covered the years 1933-1938. It was calculated to push forward the building of a classless socialist society, to relocate industrial centers nearer their raw materials, and to expand industry east of the Urals where it would be safe from European attacks. Much emphasis was put on electrification; new waterways; improved transport by road, river, and air; the doubling of real wages; and the reduction of all prices. Education was to be extended, more newspapers were to be printed, health services were to be improved, and agricultural production was to be doubled.

In spite of optimistic pronouncements about "over-fulfillment," many of these goals were not obtained, but there is no doubt that the second Five-Year Plan greatly strengthened the Russian economy, particularly in heavy industry and the production of war materials.

The Third Five-Year Plan

The third Five-Year Plan was approved by the Party in 1939. It emphasized increasing consumer goods, particularly textiles; improving housing; and further building of plants beyond the Urals. Some of the errors of the previous plans were corrected and there was somewhat less opposition among the peasants and greater support among the workers in the city.

Taken together, these three Five-Year Plans, in spite of their failures and brutality, went a long way toward changing Russia from a basically agricultural economy into one in which agriculture and industry were fairly well balanced, where transport was improved, and where a small but growing percentage of the population--essentially the small minority that constituted the membership in the Communist Party--gained a higher standard of living. They were a striking example of what an absolute dictatorship can do to expand

heavy industries such as steel, coal, and transport, and to strengthen military potential, largely at the expense of many of its citizens. The cost of all this in human suffering, privation, starvation, exile, and execution, was vast and would not have been tolerated by the masses anywhere except in Russia or China. But the Russian people were used to dictatorship and to government by a ruthless central organization. Further, by the end of the 1930s, support for the regime increased as family life was once again encouraged, divorce checked, abortions reduced, housing improved, education expanded, and religious life made somewhat freer (Ref 3, p 305).

International Affairs of the USSR

Russian Foreign Affairs

The relations of the Communist government in Moscow with the outside world have gone through a series of phases. First, a period of Civil War, foreign intervention, and isolation from outside contacts. Throughout most of the non-Communist world during these years Russia was viewed with bitterness and alarm. She was not given a seat at the Versailles Conferences, and travel in and out of Russia was virtually at a standstill.

With the coming of the new economic policy in 1921, this situation changed somewhat as the Communists made peace with Poland, worked out commercial agreements in Germany and Sweden, and signed treaties of commerce and friendship with Persia, Afghanistan, Turkey, and Outer Mongolia. Although excluded from the Washington Disarmament Conference of 1921, the Communists concluded a treaty with Germany at Rapallo, Italy, in 1922 which led to closer economic and political relations with Germany.

During these years, the United States still held aloof, influenced by the political excesses of communism. Russia's repudiation of its pre-war debts, and propaganda. France, Italy, and England, however, recognized the Communist government in 1924, as did Mexico, Greece, Hungary, Norway, Austria, and several other smaller countries.

The "warmer" phase of Soviet foreign policy, which strengthened Moscow's position considerably, ended in 1925 partly because of various incidents in which Russian diplomats were killed, Russian trade headquarters raided, and press campaigns reached a climax against communism in countries such as Great Britain. Even Germany began to swing away from Russia after 1925, the year in which the Locarno Pact tied Berlin closer to France. As a result of this cooling of political relations with the West, Moscow next turned its attention to Eastern Europe and parts of Central Asia, though with relatively little success.

Closer Ties with the West

Disturbed by Western and often worldwide hostility, the leaders in Moscow reduced their drive for world revolution, developed commercial relations with

England and several other nations, and superficially at least showed a desire to enter the world family of nations. In line with this, Russia joined the Kellogg Pact in August of 1928. Further, in February of 1929 she signed the East Protocol or Eastern Locarno (frequently called the Vinov Pact), which was calculated to outlaw war along Russia's borders. Adherents included the Soviet Union, Estonia, Latvia, Rumania, Finland, Turkey, and the Free City of Danzig (Ref 3, pp 306-312).

Continuing the effort at normalization in foreign affairs, the Communists were able to achieve diplomatic relations with England in 1929 and signed a nonaggression pact with France in 1932, while some progress was made towards better relations with previously hostile countries, such as Japan. Finally in 1933, when a Democratic Party administration came to power, the United States under Franklin Roosevelt recognized the Soviet government. The US had established regular relations with the Kerensky government in 1917, but with the coming to power of the Bolsheviks refused to receive a Soviet envoy. Furthermore, the United States had been a part of an allied expedition in Siberia "to guard military stores." These troops stayed on until the spring of 1920. Under the direction of Herbert Hoover, extensive American relief was sent to the people of Russia during the famine of 1921, and the next year an information bureau was permitted in Washington, which functioned as an unofficial embassy. The next ten years saw a substantial expansion of US - Russian trade. It was a rather one-way traffic in which the Soviet Union bought agricultural machinery and factory equipment while selling some minerals and luxury items, including caviar and furs.

When the diplomatic agreement was finally reached in November of 1933, the Communists agreed to stop propaganda in the United States, a promise which was not kept. Although the able William Bullitt went to Moscow as US Ambassador, and a clever Communist named Troyanovsky became the USSR Ambassador in Washington, relations between the two countries remained far from warm. Moscow continued to distrust US intentions, while Americans were disturbed by the Communist persecution of the church in Russia, and the brutal excesses of the authoritarian Communist government in purging its leaders, starving its peasants, and shipping thousands of its opponents to forced labor and death in Siberia (Ref 3, pp 315-322).

Foreign Affairs in the Late 1930s

After Hitler had consolidated his power in 1934, Moscow turned toward the democratic nations of the west, strengthening economic and political ties, and finally joining the League of Nations in late 1934. By 1935, various world leaders, such as Anthony Eden of England, Pierre Laval of France, and Edward Benes of Czechoslovakia, traveled to Moscow and Russia came to be more accepted by the West, if not as a friend, at least as a useful ally.

However, for ideological reasons the Communists came to the conclusion that the Western world was disintegrating, and Moscow began to push leftist organizations overseas, including the Anti-Fascist League and the League of the Godless. In addition, Russia secretly made efforts to improve relations with Hitler's Germany.

The year 1936 saw the Western world split over the bitter civil war in Spain, a struggle in which the conservative and largely Catholic Fascists set out to overthrow the Republican government in Madrid. Various European countries intervened, sending money, know-how, weapons, and even "volunteers" to Spain, while the Soviet government supplied both money and guerrillas to the Republicans. In 1936 also, Germany signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan, thus surrounding the Soviet Union, which answered by increased cooperation with the democratic nations at the League of Nations and with a nonaggression pact with China.

The End of Collective Security

Finally, in the autumn of 1938, the Russian policy of collective security by cooperation with the democratic powers of the West broke down. Without letting Russia know what they were going to do, England and France gave way to Hitler at Munich, thus opening the way for the Germans to expand in Czechoslovakia and other parts of Eastern Europe. Russian Foreign Minister Litvinov, the architect of cooperation with the West, resigned and was succeeded by Molotov who began secret negotiations with Nazi Germany leading to a nonaggression pact with that country. Moscow believed that this would give her both neutrality and protection in the coming war, the war which did break out in September of 1939. When Germany invaded Poland from the west, the Russians moved in from the east and the two powers divided the country between them, establishing a common border line and signing a new treaty of amity.

Because she was worried about access to the Baltic Sea in the face of Hitler's aggression, Moscow signed a pact with the smaller Baltic countries and, when Finland proved difficult, she attacked it in an act of aggression which caused her to be expelled from the League of Nations. In spite of heroic resistance by the Finns, resistance which showed many weaknesses in the Communist war machine, Russia won the conflict and took over the eastern provinces of Finland. After this, through intrigue and pressure, the Communists put "friendly leftist governments" into power in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and in the summer of 1940 these three small nations became "Soviet Republics."

War With Germany

In spite of, and to some extent because of, this strengthening of the Russian position around the Baltic, on 22 June 1941, Hitler sent 200 divisions against Soviet territory. Hitler's objectives were to capture the city of Leningrad, and thus cut the Russians off from the Baltic; to take Moscow, the nerve and transportation center of Russia; and to obtain control of the coal, oil, and grain-producing areas of the Ukraine and southern European Russia.

On paper the plan looked feasible but it failed in all three respects. Leningrad and Moscow held out and, as had happened to Napoleon before him, Hitler found his armies stopped by the Russian winter and "General Mud." The next summer the Germans made their main effort in southern Russia.

but were unable to take the city of Stalingrad. Then, what was left of the German Sixth Army was captured and the Nazis had to retreat. The fighting continued in the summer of 1943 largely near the central town of Kursk, well south of Moscow, where the Germans made considerable advances. However, in June 1944 the Allies landed in Normandy and that autumn Finland, Rumania, and Bulgaria surrendered. Hard pressed on both sides, the Germans began a long and bloody retreat. Warsaw was taken in January of 1945 and finally, after the battle of Berlin, Germany surrendered on 8 May 1945.

Teheran and Yalta

In November of 1943, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had met with Stalin in Teheran, and in February of 1945 these great leaders again talked with Stalin at the Black Sea resort of Yalta. At that meeting, in exchange for agreeing to attack Japan, Russia was given many concessions, including retention of much of Poland, occupation of German lands on the Baltic and East Germany, billions in reparations, and the use of Germans for forced labor. At another summit meeting at Potsdam in the summer of 1945, Stalin gained still further concessions, largely relative to Russian advances into Eastern Europe.

Russian War Against Japan

In spite of her alliances with the European Fascist powers, Japan did not attack Russia while the war was in progress in the West. However, on 8 August 1945 the Russians, largely for geo-political reasons, moved against a Japan which was already almost defeated by US sea and air power. After a brief period of fighting, and after the US had dropped two atomic bombs on Japan, that country surrendered in August 1945, and Russia was able to gain various advantages in the Far East on the basis of her "important role" in defeating Japan, a role which was brief and largely theoretical.

Communist Expansion After World War II

New International Communist Line After World War II

The chaos in much of Europe and the Near East after World War II was conducive to the spread of communism. To check it, therefore, the United States in 1947 propounded the "Truman Doctrine" to protect the Near and Middle East, and the Marshall Plan which was calculated to restore the economic well-being of Europe. Stalin's reaction to these Western moves was a Communist meeting in Poland in September of 1947. At this conference Stalin's lieutenants set up a new international organization called the Cominform to replace the Comintern which had been dissolved in 1943.

The new Cominform line was that the world was divided into two rival camps. The first of these was the non-Communist West, led by the United States and supported by its allies and satellites in Europe and other parts of the world. These non-Communist countries were held to be run by reactionary, antidemocratic, and imperialist-minded leaders who were bent on taking over the world through war.

The second camp was made up of the Communist powers, essentially Russia and her satellites. These countries were pictured as being truly democratic, anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, and deeply peace-loving. As a result, they thought they had the support of the masses elsewhere. This view of the world situation led the Communists in Moscow to turn once again to the "hard line" in foreign affairs which had been followed after World War I. According to it, Europe and many other parts of the world were "ripe for revolution."

Communist Takeovers in Eastern Europe

Acting on the theory that the masses no longer supported their bourgeois governments, various Communist parties, backed by Moscow, organized a series of political strikes such as the one which started in France in December of 1947. Although confusion and some violence resulted, this strike and similar ones failed, and it became clear that a large number of even left-wing workers were not ready to support "democratic" Communist takeovers. In fact, disillusionment with Communist leadership spread in Europe.

In order to strengthen the Communist position in countries outside the Soviet Union, Stalin, who had never been out of Russia, told his lieutenants to be more aggressive. They were ordered to liquidate not only conservatives but labor leaders and even Communist Party members who would not go along with the idea of centralized control by Moscow of all the Communist parties throughout the world. Thus Russian Communists living abroad, or their local henchmen, began taking control of Communist parties and leftist groups in various parts of Europe, parties which had previously been given a moderate amount of political freedom. One of the first results of this new policy was a multi-step take-over in Czechoslovakia in 1948, ending in a successful Communist coup in that country.

Yugoslavia Resists

However, similar pressure by Moscow on Yugoslavia resulted in local Communist resistance by the strong will of Communist boss, Tito. After considerable in-fighting it became clear that Moscow could not remove Tito without armed intervention, a move which would have been injurious to Communist policies elsewhere. As a result, Tito kept control of Yugoslavia, but was expelled from the Cominform, a move that has been likened by some historians to the excommunication of Martin Luther.

Further Domination of the Satellites

Under Stalin's guidance the Moscow Communists continued to move in on the Communist parties of Eastern Europe, including those in Albania under Hoxha, in Hungary under Rajk, and in Poland where the party had been run by Gomulka. These local leaders were replaced by Communists of lesser stature who were known to be pro-Moscow. Under them the local parties were purged and their subservience to Moscow completed.

Once the Stalinist Communists had control of the Communist Parties in Eastern Europe, they proceeded to take over the governments themselves. This was usually done through rigged elections, as was the case in Poland in January of 1947 and in Rumania in November of that year.

After these pro-Communist governments came in power they proceeded to subjugate the judges to "the will of the state." Then a series of public political trials were held in which opponents of Moscow-directed communism were convicted and imprisoned or executed. These moves were accompanied by the reorganization and take-over of the security forces of the countries involved, including the military, the regular police, and, above, all the secret police who then carried out night arrests and frequent torture or murder of persons considered opponents of the new Communist regime.

The officials of the new Communist governments arranged to have pro-Moscow Communists capture control of the trade unions and other workers organizations, which were then reorganized to become links between the government and the workers. From then on the role of the trade unions in the satellites was not to help the workers but to help the state make the workers produce more.

At this time also the pro-Moscow Communists moved against the newspaper and magazine editors in the countries of Eastern Europe, replacing anti-Communists, Socialists, or even non-Stalin Communists with men and women subservient to Moscow, thus striking a deep blow at freedom of the press.

Still another field of activity for Stalin's Communists was education. Any independent teachers were moved out of their jobs and replaced by persons "with the proper Communist viewpoint," thus ending independent thinking in the schools and universities.

Conflicts in the Field of Religion

Stalin's drive to force his version of Marxist-Leninist ideology on the states of Eastern Europe led to conflict in the field of religion, for the Roman Catholic Church was strong in some of these countries, and the Greek Orthodox form of Catholicism was dominant elsewhere. Resistance by the religious leaders led to developments such as the trial and imprisonment in Hungary of Cardinal Mindszenty in February of 1949. The struggle lasted even longer in Poland, and it was not until September of 1953 that Polish Cardinal Wyszhinski was deprived of his position and sent to a monastery.

In Rumania the new Communist government was able to "pack" the church council, which then appointed a new Metropolitan who was favorable to Moscow. He then removed priests and other religious leaders who had "the mentality of the past." Similar steps were carried out in Bulgaria, resulting in the strengthening of formal ties between the church there and the patriarch in Moscow.

A certain amount of Protestant strength existed in the Eastern countries of Europe, but the Protestant churches there were not backed up by anything

like the international support given to the Catholics, and the new Communist regimes were able to bring their congregations into line quite easily.

New Type Democracies

These pro-Moscow satellite regimes, taken over by Stalin's "Trojan horse" technique were then described as "democracies of the new type." This was a striking example of Communist distortion of the usual meaning of words, since the satellites no longer had any democratic aspects in the Western sense of the word. Stalin boasted however, that they were "democratic" because they had been taken "out of the grip of the imperialists" and their regimes were "laying the foundations of Socialism."

The Russian Communists tended to look down on the people and even the Communist leaders in these "eastern democracies" and refused to concede them equal status with the Moscow regime. In explanation, Stalin and his followers pointed out that these Eastern satellites were in 1948 about where the Soviet government in Moscow had been in 1923.

Stalin had hoped that the Trojan horse policy could also be applied to countries such as France and Italy, where there were large Communist parties and where "workers governments" seemed possible in theory. But Communist efforts to form left-wing coalitions, and Communist moves to penetrate the governments, the trade unions, the security forces, the press, the schools, or the churches met with little success in Europe proper. This was particularly true as the economy of the countries of western Europe revived under the stimulus of the Marshall Plan. Thus the Communist take-over in Eastern Europe was checked, and the strength of communism receded there.

Communism in China

The Chinese Revolution

Revolutionary events of the greatest importance had been going on for a generation in China. The first Communist study group, the "Society for the Study of Marxism" had been formed in Peking in 1918, and the First Congress of the Chinese Communist Party had been held in Shanghai in mid-1921. The next year the Chinese Communists tried to work out a united front with the non-Communist Nationalist Kuomintang Party, but its leader, Sun Yat Sen, the father of the Chinese liberal revolution, turned the idea down. At this, the Chinese Communists began infiltrating the Kuomintang, and a rising young Chinese Army officer called Chiang Kai-shek was sent to Moscow. In 1923 a well-trained Moscow Communist using the name of Mikhail Borodin was sent to Canton and soon developed enough power to reorganize the Kuomintang Party, put Chiang Kai-shek at the head of a Military Academy, and have the leftist Chinese Chou En-Lai, made head of that school's political department.

After a power struggle in 1925, Borodin and his Communist supporters were able to expel many of the conservatives from the Kuomintang and the Military Academy. A network of Soviets was started among the workers in

the cities and in transport, and it appeared that the tactics which the Communists had used so successfully in Russia would work again in China.

Chiang Kai-shek's Coup of 1926

But in February of 1926, while Borodin was away, Chiang Kai-shek showed that he was more Chinese than Communist. Announcing he had uncovered a Communist conspiracy, he arrested the Russian advisors in Canton, shut down the trade unions, disarmed the worker's militia, and purged the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang of its Communist members.

This was a shock to Borodin but through careful maneuvering he arranged to have the headquarters of the Kuomintang moved to the interior towns of Hankow and Wuchang where the Communists were strong. He then forced Chiang and his conservative Chinese Nationalists out of their positions of power.

Chiang Strikes Back

But Chiang was not a man to be pushed aside. In August of 1927, he went to the great seaport city of Shanghai and rallied the anti-Communist nationalists there in a move which liquidated the Red Guards, smashed the Soviets, and arrested the radicals and Communists. This counterrevolution spread, and Borodin and his followers were forced to flee westward to Russia.

Moscow then sent new agents to China who were able to stir up revolts in several cities before they were put down. One of the Chinese Communist leaders who came to prominence at this time was a man named Mao Tse-tung. He came from a small village in Hunan province where he had quarreled with his father and been influenced by a liberal school teacher. On going to Peking to complete his education he became a Marxist, and in 1920 was among the original organizers of the Chinese Communist party. Because of his peasant background, he believed that the only way the Communists could gain control of China was by making use of armed peasant groups who would gradually take over the countryside and then close in on the cities.

Thus, when Moscow-directed city uprisings failed and Mao, among others, was sent into "exile" in the hinterland, he collected a group of left-wing peasants and began forming Soviets and a Red militia in a remote part of Kiangsi Province.

Meanwhile Moscow organized still another uprising of workers and soldiers, this time in the southern city of Canton. After a few days of success it was put down in a "white terror" in which more than 6,000 Communists were shot, beheaded, or drowned, a striking defeat for the Moscow policy of trying to bring about revolution in China through the city workers. In spite of it, however, Stalin in 1930 sent out still another wave of Communist advisors, known as the Returned Student Clique, who took control of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and tried to develop a following in the cities.

Mao Grows Stronger

By the spring of 1929 Chiang Kai-shek and his non-Communist Chinese Nationalists controlled China's seaports, some of her interior cities, and a few neighboring farm areas. Meanwhile, in the mountainous interior of southern China, Mao was training Communist cadres, organizing Soviets, liquidating landlords, and building up his own Red Army. When these forces became dangerously strong, Chiang Kai-shek sent his western-trained regular troops against them in three separate campaigns of extermination. But by now, Mao had studied and expanded successful principles for guerrilla warfare. The soldiers of the Kuomintang were ambushed time and again; if they succeeded in catching up with Mao's guerrillas, the units simply melted away. As a result, Mao's Communist forces routed Chiang's troops and captured thousands of rifles and much ammunition.

After this, Mao and his followers, who claimed they were "agrarian reformers," held the first All-China Soviet Congress in Kiangsi Province in November of 1931. A central soviet government was set up, a soviet congress was established, the Party was reorganized, and a school for guerrillas was established, all built around the principle that the peasants rather than the workers were the key to Communist success in underdeveloped China.

The Long March

Disturbed by the growth of Mao's strength, Chiang Kai-shek started an all-out campaign against him. Chiang's forces were able to surround the Communists and for a while it appeared that the peasant army would be wiped out and the area controlled by the Communist Soviets taken over by the Chinese Nationalists. To save themselves, some 125,000 members of the Red peasant army, with political leaders and their chief followers, were organized into mobile columns. Moving silently at night they broke through the encircling Nationalist lines and marched day and night until Chiang's troops lost contact with them. Then at a slower rate they continued on an extraordinary political journey through some of the most mountainous and difficult country of the interior of China. After a dangerous crossing of the Yellow River, they finally set up headquarters in the city of Yenan near the border of Inner Mongolia, a place so remote it provided them with a truly safe haven. There, in October of 1937, Mao became the leader of the Chinese Communist Party.

Unity Against the Japanese

During and after the Long March, the Japanese, who had been advancing south from Manchuria, captured many important cities on or near the coast. After being held prisoner by two of his own war lords, Chiang Kai-shek agreed to work with the "agrarian reformers," and they in turn agreed to "end their soviets" in favor of a government of "democracy based on the people's rights," whatever that might mean. After this, Mao's Red

guerrillas were merged with Chiang's forces and rechristened the Eighth Route Army. Chiang thereupon supplied them with both money and munitions and Mao's strength grew steadily, supposedly for use against the Japanese. Chiang's troops, still using frontal attacks against strong Japanese positions, suffered defeat after defeat. But Mao's Eighth Route Army which had improved its guerrilla tactics, ambushed the well-equipped Japanese in battle after battle, collecting large amounts of guns and ammunition. These victories gave the Communists control of much additional territory which they included in their soviet.

Both Sides Try Indoctrination of the Masses

Beginning in February of 1942 Mao sent his best Communist cadres to a series of schools where they were given mass indoctrination in communism in general and Mao's teachings in particular. After this the cadres were used to teach millions of Chinese peasants the effectiveness and importance of Maoism.

To meet this ideological offensive, Chiang Kai-shek developed an educational campaign of his own, built around a revival of the teachings of Confucius, a return to the use of party cells in the Kuomintang, greater regimentation of Chinese youth, and the expansion of the Nationalist secret police. To most forward-looking Chinese this did not appear to be the solution for China against the Japanese, the Communists, or the Western powers, and support for the Kuomintang lessened. This trend was strengthened as it became clear that under the Nationalists the rich were getting richer, the middle classes were being squeezed by inflation, and most of the peasants were little better off than they had been a generation before. Further, graft and corruption were spreading not only among the business communities but among the political leaders of the Kuomintang as well.

Communist Economic Subversion

The Communists expanded their activities in the field of economic subversion. Shipments of arms from the West intended for the Nationalists began turning up in the hands of Mao's guerrillas along with hard-to-get necessities, such as medicines, trucks, gasoline, and winter clothing. Other items were landed in China's ports but soon turned up on the black market where they were sold to speculators or acquired by the Communists, who sold them elsewhere in Asia in exchange for needed products. Along with this black market traffic there went a great increase in bribery which reached high up in the Kuomintang hierarchy, discrediting the leaders and sapping the will to fight among the soldiers.

Meanwhile, a skillfully operated propaganda campaign presented the government in the areas controlled by the "agrarian reformers" as honest, dedicated, democratic, and helpful to peasants, workers, and traders alike. To people outside China, it seemed that the choice lay between a reactionary Nationalist regime under corrupt officials, and an honest government supported by the people which was working for reform. This combination of guerrilla tactics, economic subversion, widespread bribery, and pro-Communist propaganda is still the keystone of Communist expansion in the Far East.

US Missions to China

By 1944 Mao's agrarian reformers controlled over 85 million Chinese peasants, while Chiang's strength slipped month by month. The United States thereupon sent a series of important emissaries to China. They were men like George Marshall who looked the situation over and then reported back to Washington that it was essential the liberal elements in the Nationalist government take over its leadership. But the Chinese Nationalist liberals were not given such a chance, inflation spread rapidly, and the Nationalist troops lost their will to fight. In spite of being well equipped with American arms, Chiang's forces were steadily driven back as Mao's guerrillas proved themselves able to defeat them almost at will. In the autumn of 1948 the Chinese Nationalists were reported to have lost 33 divisions, over 400,000 rifles, and vast quantities of trucks and ammunition, most of which were taken over by the Communists.

As their strength ebbed, Chiang Kai-shek's troops fell back into the cities, leaving the "agrarian reformers" to expand their military control and their soviet government throughout the countryside. In October of 1948, the Nationalist defenders of the city of Mukden went over to Mao's Communists with their arms and equipment. Then in the next few months, the key centers of Tientsin, Peking, and Shanghai fell to the Communists. Finally, in the spring of 1949, Chiang Kai-shek was forced to leave the Chinese mainland and set up his government and his Army on the island of Formosa.

On 21 September 1949, in front of the former Imperial Palace in Peking, the peasant leader Mao Tso-tung announced that the Central People's Political Consultative Council of the People's Republic of China had taken office. China, with over 600 million inhabitants, had gone Communist.

When Mao referred to a People's Republic in order to get nationwide support, he included in it the working class, the peasant class, the petty bourgeois and the national bourgeois. As popular targets to be liquidated, the Communists named "the lackeys of imperialism, the landlord class, the bureaucratic capitalist class, the Kuomintang reactionaries, and their henchmen representing these classes" (Ref 4).

But this united national front of "forward-looking elements" lasted only until Mao had secured complete power. Then, one by one, the national bourgeois, the petty bourgeois, and the richer members of the middle class were tried, "found to have gone over to the enemy," and liquidated by the People's Militia, the Secret Police, the Cadres of the Communist Party, and a chain of informers which the Communists organized from the top officials down to the children of the peasants.

Then Mao and his Communist followers set out to modernize China, with complete disregard for China's past traditions and the feelings and lives of its people. A series of mistakes such as the "Great Leap Forward" embittered millions of Chinese, including middle-aged elements of the Communist Party, and by the mid-1960s a large percentage of the Chinese people began to cool on extremist communism and to hope that the revolution could slow down.

Mao, however, wanted the revolution to continue at white heat, a thing no revolution had previously been able to do. As a result, in 1965, he organized what he called "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," a return to Mao's teachings of the militant days of the Long March. Behind him, Mao rallied some top-level Communists and millions of younger Communists and students known as "Red Guards." When many of the middle and senior level Communists openly opposed this, or began to drag their feet, Mao closed the schools and turned the Red Guards and some of the Army loose on his opponents. By the winter of 1967, China was shaken by internal convulsions such as no country had ever seen, except possibly France during the worst days of The Terror. Moscow sided with Mao's opponents and the world held its breath as relations between the two Communist giants went from bad to worse.

Russian Communism After Stalin

Changes in the Post-Stalin Era

Stalin died on March 5, 1953, his end, according to some sources, was hastened by his own lieutenants. At first he was succeeded by the well-known Communist leader George Malenkov. Then in 1955 Bulganin took over as Premier while Nikita Khrushchev held the important post of Party Secretary. Gradually Khrushchev came to dominate the Moscow and national scene and the Russian Communist Party under his direction embarked on a new course. This involved various political, economic, and cultural changes among which were:

1. A move to collective leadership rather than the personality cult of Stalin.
2. A reduction in the power of the secret police and the terrible system of surveillance and secret arrests (so typical of Czarist Russia) which had existed under Stalin. This change was demonstrated in January of 1953 when Beria, the dreaded head of the secret police, was executed.
3. A change in economic emphasis from heavy industry to consumer goods, although this policy varied back and forth on several occasions.

Khrushchev, who had been a farm boy himself, set out to help the collective farmers, to encourage them to produce more and to allow them to keep more of what they produced. There was a grain shortage in 1954 and Khrushchev tried to relieve it by a vast campaign of plowing northern and western "virgin lands." Much of this new acreage turned out to be marginal, however, and with farm discipline relaxed the peasants tended to work more for their own consumption and less for the state. The question of farming in a Socialist state has not been solved, and still remains the greatest Socialist problem.

Another aspect of the new course involved greater emphasis by the Soviet government on providing economic aid to Communist or developing countries overseas. These included Communist China, as well as India, Burma, and various African nations such as Egypt, Algeria, Mali, etc. It soon developed that the Soviets lacked qualified personnel whom they could spare, that they

only had a few people with skills in appropriate languages, and that the Soviet aid missions often showed racial bias and a "superior attitude toward the natives." Further, the export of scarce items began to cause resentment among the Russian people, and the Communist aid programs were slowed down and came under careful review.

Greater Cultural Freedom

The new course also involved the giving of greater freedom to writers, poets, newspaper persons, and others expressing their thoughts about life in general and socialism in particular. The movement towards free speech has recently been slowed, but there is much more criticism of socialist practices in Russia and particularly in the satellites than there ever was under Stalin. The same applies to the cultural arts, where wider scope has been permitted in the fields of dancing, ballet, painting, sculpture, and similar activities.

Part of this wave of freedom comes from the fact that the Soviets are permitting and even encouraging tourists from non-Communist countries to travel in Russia, where they see for themselves what is going on. Social intercourse between foreign tourists and the Russian people is limited, but is nevertheless far easier than it was under Stalin. Many Russians are learning about the outside world directly from Westerners while some Russian travel is permitted outside the Soviet Union.

Softening in Foreign Policy

The new course pursued by the Soviet Government since the death of Stalin has also made a change in the conduct of foreign affairs. This has been largely seen in a softening of the Soviet attitude towards non-Communist countries. In 1953, for instance, the Russians dropped certain claims they had been making to Turkish territory, while in 1954 they agreed to the principal of an armistice to end the fighting in Korea. The same year they showed themselves ready to help end the so-called first Indo-China War between France and resistant groups seeking independence for Indo-China.

In 1955 Russia made a new treaty with "neutral" Austria which greatly improved the position of that country in world affairs. And also in 1955 Moscow was willing to join in a declaration of friendship and cooperation with the government of Yugoslavia, which admitted that the people of that country had a right to build socialism in their own way. However, the new course made few basic changes. There was, for instance, no agreement with the West on the problems of Germany, particularly of Berlin. And the Warsaw pact of May 1955 formalized Russian domination of the satellite countries of Eastern Europe through government ties and inter-Party relationships (Ref 1).

The First Sputnik

Khrushchev demoted Malenkov in 1955. At first he controlled the Premiership through the politically weak Marshal, Nicolai Bulganin. By March 1958, however, Khrushchev was powerful enough to push Bulganin aside to

the position of Manager of the State Bank and to make himself both Party Secretary and Prime Minister (Ref 5, pp 278-298).

At this time the Russians began putting emphasis on their space program, achieving a scientific and propaganda victory by launching the first man-made satellite, or Sputnik in 1957. A favorable impression was made on the developing countries by this evidence of scientific skill.

Polish and Hungarian Rebellions

In 1956 (the second year of Khruschev's power in Russia) trouble developed in Poland involving a worker's uprising in Poznan and Army grievances against the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Nationalists, who at one time had been put in prison by the Russian head of government. An even more serious problem developed in Hungary in October of 1956 when various groups, including liberals and some Army units, rebelled against the rule of the Hungarian-born Communists who had been running the country on orders from Moscow. When violence began to spread, Imre Nagy, a Hungarian Communist, was made Prime Minister of a coalition cabinet. But Nagy showed too much independence, and proclaimed that Hungary would follow a neutralist policy and seek aid from the Western democracies. When Moscow began to put on pressure, violent street fighting broke out in Budapest and some other centers, forcing Khruschev to send in units of the regular Russian Army, including several thousand tanks. The Hungarian freedom fighters had hoped for help from the West but the United States, the United Kingdom, and France were involved in the Suez crisis and could not, or would not, supply military support. As a result, the rebellion was smashed with great brutality, Premier Nagy was deposed, tried, and executed, and many Hungarian refugees fled to Austria. In his place, a member of Nagy's cabinet, Janos Kadar, became the new Prime Minister. He was able to carry out certain minor reforms, pleasing to the Hungarians, while keeping close to Moscow in terms of basic policies (Ref 5, pp 284-285).

Coexistence with the West

As the atomic race became a stalemate, Khrushchev and his coleaders announced a policy of "peaceful competitive coexistence." This was intended to make the West relax, and it did not prevent the Soviets from continuing to probe any weak points they could find in the defenses of the West or from pushing "wars of national liberation" in the developing countries. Further, Khrushchev and the other Communist leaders continued to state that Soviet socialism was a superior system to any found in the capitalist world and that, as a result, the West would soon be surpassed in production. Khrushchev himself said, "We shall bury you." However, the Soviet Union continued to build up her defenses against a capitalist attack and to strengthen her relations with the neutral or nonaligned countries of the "Third World." In spite of various conversations with European leaders and a visit by Khrushchev to the United States, the policy of coexistence gained the Soviets little and was widely attacked by the leaders of Chinese communism.

The Cuban Missile Crisis

The most dramatic development in East-West relations during Khrushchev's years occurred in the autumn of 1962. President Kennedy backed by substantial military strength, the Russians were forced to withdraw their more powerful missiles from Cuba, a defeat which lost Khrushchev much face. When, faced with an ultimatum from

the United States, he signed a limited test-ban treaty with all the nuclear powers other than France and China, it was taken by Khrushchev's enemies at home, and particularly by the Chinese Communist leaders, as a sign that Khrushchev was showing too much softness towards capitalism.

"Retirement" of Khrushchev

The feeling grew that Khrushchev had proved himself unable to run Russia's foreign affairs successfully, while at the same time his frequent changes of Party line in the economic field were bringing growing confusion to many aspects of Russian life. A considerable number of second-rank Communist leaders decided that Khrushchev had to be replaced. As a result, in what amounted to a bloodless "cabinet coup" Khrushchev was forced from office and put into retirement in October 1964. The change was sudden and arbitrary but it did not involve the bloodshed connected with such changes or attempted changes in Russia since 1917.

Following the coup, Alexei Kosygin became Prime Minister and Leonid Brezhnev First Secretary of the Communist Party, and these two efficient but colorless administrators and bureaucrats have continued to run the country to the present time. Under them no major changes in Khrushchev's policies have been made but rather a trend toward better organization, fewer arbitrary positions, and a slight expansion of the decision-making powers in the top echelons of the party has developed.

Quarrel Between Russia and China

The most important developments since Khrushchev was pushed aside has been the expansion of the East-West conflict over South Vietnam, the split in theory and practice between Moscow's communism and Peking's version of that philosophy, and the strange convulsion within China which, by 1967, had become a civil war.

Mao has always objected to any idea that coexistence was possible between communism and the capitalist and imperial powers. Khrushchev's acceptance of coexistence therefore meant to Mao and his supporters that the Soviet Union had lost its revolutionary drive, was becoming satisfied with the division of the world, and was, in fact, becoming "bourgeois-minded." As the split between the two Communist giants widened, the Russians withdrew their technicians from China quite suddenly after 1959, and a series of minor border disputes and conflicts gradually expanded until both sides had several dozen divisions deployed along their mutual frontier. In addition, Russia continued to "mend her fences" with the West, including the United States, Great Britain, and particularly France. It was clear that a new phase in Russian foreign policy was beginning.

If 1966 and 1967 were producing a new phase in Russia's relations with other countries, they were also bringing about a turning point within Communist China. Mao's great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was essentially aimed at keeping the Communist movement in China at white heat. The excesses of the Red Guards, the disgrace and purge of many senior Party members, and the open attacks on many traditional aspects of Chinese society had clearly gone too far. It is impossible to predict either the future of Mao and his close associates or the course which Chinese communism will now follow, but it is possible to say that China has been greatly weakened as a world power, her ability to make revolutions elsewhere much reduced, and her prestige in the field of communism undermined.

Along with this weakening of Communist China has gone the surprising recovery of Indonesia from the brink of a Communist takeover. Had Indonesia become an out-and-out Communist satellite of China, the position of pro-Western or neutral regimes in most of Southeast Asia would have been undermined. Now, some 100 million people throughout the islands of Indonesia have seen the true nature and fallacies of communism and it is unlikely that they or their neighbors will succumb again to its false propaganda.

If the internal defense and development program which the United States and her allies are carrying on and expanding in South Vietnam can lead successfully to the establishment of a genuinely independent and moderately democratic regime in South Vietnam, observers of the international scene will be able to view the threat of communism in Southeast Asia as far less serious than was the case even a few years ago. History is proving that communism cannot stand on its own record, and as that record is more clearly understood the appeal of Communist theory is steadily reduced.

THEORY, FALLACIES, AND PRACTICE OF COMMUNISM

Marx and Engels

Basic Philosophy

No writers in the field of politics and economics during the last hundred years have had so great an impact on world thinking as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. And yet much of what they wrote was erroneous at the time of its composition, or else became out of date shortly thereafter. Further, their theories have been distorted by their leading followers, particularly Lenin, Stalin, and Mao, until they bear little resemblance to the original principles. Marx and his collaborator, Engels, would hardly recognize the doctrine now dominant in Russia, China, or Cuba, and would probably denounce those states for not being "Communist."

Part of the problem lies in the fact that Marx and Engels wrote at a time when society in the West was changing rapidly under the impact of the Industrial Revolution, a change which by now is spreading to every corner of the world. The results of this change have been deeply upsetting and in many cases have produced new inequalities and much injustice. The fact that these evils have usually turned out to be temporary has been ignored by most "Marxist" Leninists."

The theory of communism, as developed by Marx and Engels, changed by Lenin, and utilized by Stalin and Mao is a neat and well-rounded "intellectual package," which is not only relatively easy to understand, but which appears to explain everything that is happening in the current phase of world history. By stressing the "inevitability" of the Communist world take-over, Marxist-Leninism appeals to a large number of people who are ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-governed, and otherwise discontented and who therefore welcome the teachings of communism as the only answer to their grievances.

Historical Materialism

Of the various theories developed by Marx and Engels, the most famous was that of "Historical Materialism," which held that the economic aspect of life is dominant. According to Marx, the economic evolution of society everywhere follows a fixed pattern of development (Ref 1, p 37). In this pattern man first organizes society in a primitive communal state. This is followed by a time when the most characteristic aspect of society is widespread slavery. Then comes a period of feudalism, with serfdom largely replacing slavery as the basis for the production of wealth. Marx believed that feudalism would end with the growth of a new middle class whose control of the means of production would be through private capital. Once capitalism had outgrown its usefulness, it would inevitably give way to socialism, in which the means of production were owned by the state. This would lead to a Communist state.

Marx concluded that in each of these states of socio-economic development the group or class which controls the means of production dominates the society and therefore uses the wealth produced, whether by slaves, serfs, or factory workers, for its own ends. The interest of the ruling class, therefore, is always opposed to the interests of the slaves, serfs, or factory workers. This produces a confrontation or class struggle which cannot be resolved unless the state itself takes over the means of production through socialism or, eventually, communism.

Although this step-by-step pattern is partly correct, we know that it is not universal, that various stages may be omitted, that the order of the stages is not fixed, and that the end result need not necessarily be socialism.

Marx and Revolution

Marx believed that under capitalism the state was "a machine for the oppression of one class by another" (Ref 1, p 64), and that the condition of the workers and the middle class would become steadily worse until it was unbearable. Marx preached that it was inevitable that the workers would eventually revolt, capture the capitalist state, and destroy it. As developed by Marx, this meant that revolution was inevitable and would take place in two phases (Ref 1, p 67).

1. In the first phase, the new owners of the means of production, the bourgeoisie, would rise up and overthrow the old aristocrat and landlord feudalists. Marx felt that it was in the interest of the workers that this

development should take place, and that the proletariat should, therefore, work with and help the bourgeoisie in the revolution to end feudalism. The French Revolution of 1789 was an example of such a revolt.

2. In the second phase of the revolution, the workers and poor farmers would rise up and overthrow the capitalist bourgeoisie, sometimes aided in the process by left-wing members of the middle class.

It must be realized that Marx reached his conclusion on the basis of his studies of early 19th century European economics-- economics whose pattern had begun to change even before his death and which are now outmoded in the more developed parts of the world. Marx's teaching, for instance, that the capitalist owners of the means of production would steadily become more ruthless, richer, and fewer has not proven to be the case; in fact, the number and percentage of owners of the means of production is constantly rising in the developed countries of the Western world (Ref 1, p 58).

Actually, Marx's belief that the condition of the workers would become steadily worse under capitalism was beginning to be out of date within a few years of the publication of Marx's great work Das Kapital (Ref 1, p 58). Thanks to the strength of labor unions, the general increase in productivity, and the forward looking position of most Western governments, the amount of wealth and the share of the wealth which goes to the workers have steadily risen over the last 100 years in the advanced nations. As a result, the workers in those countries have both a standard of living and a bargaining power undreamed of 100 years ago.

In this connection Marx accepted the theories of David Ricardo, an English economist who claimed that in the long run the value of labor and the amount it could expect to earn would be determined solely by the cost of the laborers' subsistence; in other words, the minimum needed to keep the laborers alive. This is definitely not the case, not only in the advanced nations but even in the developing or backward states.

Still another of Marx's theories was that capital would be concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, thus forcing the small capitalists and middle class employers to go out of business. Before the end of the 19th century it became clear that this was not happening. Capital was becoming more widely distributed, the number of shareholders in companies having the means of production grew each year, and the middle class became so powerful that the Western world now has a flourishing middle class society.

Further, especially in the last generation, governments are no longer controlled by the large owners of the means of production, but hold and carry out policies which are in the best interest of the middle class and of the workers as well. A good example of such a change "from the top" occurred in the United States in the 1930s under the New Deal, when Roosevelt cut down substantially on the power of capital, and greatly increased the power and wealth of organized labor, the farmers, and the middle class.

Marx and the State

According to Marx and Engels, the state is evil and will disappear or wither away in a society in which there is no conflict between classes. Although this theory of the state was, in general, correct in a slave-holding or feudal society, and partly so in the earliest days of the Industrial Revolution when the workers were to a certain extent unorganized wage slaves, it does not apply to the way society is now organized in most of Europe, North America, and other advanced nations. In most non-Communist countries the state has become a referee, balancing the interest of the workers, the farmers, the middle class, and the industrialists--making sure that the wealth produced is equitably distributed.

Another of Marx's theories was that the state cannot be democratic, since it is controlled by the owners of the means of production who use it for their own ends. This theory, likewise, is false and out of date. With the workers, farmers, and middle class organized and politically powerful, and with the coming to power of labor and farm governments, plus the development of honest elections in much of the West, the state now functions in the interest of almost all its citizens. It is a democratic machine rather than an organ of oppression. Thus, Marx's theory that in a state controlled by the owners of the means of production "all the masses can hope for is to decide every three to six years which member of the ruling class is to misrepresent them in parliament" no longer applies.

Marxist Theory versus History

In France in 1848, with the aristocrats crushed, the proletarians carried out a poorly organized and confused revolt against the bourgeoisie, and the uprising was smashed with more than 20,000 casualties. Marx had difficulty logically explaining the failure of this and similar second-phase revolutions.

He and his followers had even more difficulty explaining why there was not a second-phase revolution in England after 1648, where the reform movement was so successful that the condition of the workers improved slowly but steadily. The great success of other reform movements, such as the American New Deal, is also extremely hard for present-day Marxists to accept. To Marx, reforms were mere palliatives, concessions made by the ruthless owners of the means of production, in order that they might continue to exploit the masses. So, as the years passed and as reforms were made in country after country, the followers of Marx became split between moderates, who were ready to work for reform, and extremists, who felt that the only answer was total revolution.

One aspect of the Marxist myth was that the second phase of the revolution, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat, would have to come first in a highly industrial country, such as Germany or England. In this also Marx was wrong, for Russia, although by no means a backward country economically, was not a world leader in 1917. Later developments, such as the Communist takeover in China through the peasants rather than

through the workers, have shown this aspect of Marx' s theory to be completely false.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

In addition to being inaccurate and out of date regarding the economic aspects of society in Europe and North America, Marx' s thinking was muddled regarding the organization of a Communist state once the bourgeoisie had been overthrown. As the most vocal and persuasive off-spring of 19th century liberalism, Marx propounded a set of ideas which look good on the surface but which do not stand up under careful examination and the passing of time.

An important error in the thinking of Marx and Engels was their belief that once the workers had taken over the means of production there would be a dictatorship of the proletariat through which the masses would rule (Ref 1, p 72). Lenin clearly saw that the means of production could not be operated by the proletariat, since they were not trained to do so. The liquidation of the bourgeoisie, the taking over by the state of the means of production, and the using of the wealth so produced to strengthen the socialist economy can only be done by force, force directed by a group or party. It produces a system of government which is not a dictatorship of the proletariat but a dictatorship for the proletariat by the group or party. In Russia, this has meant a government by the inner circles of the Communist Party as a whole. The Utopian prophecies of Marx, Engels, and later Communists about the "withering away of the state" have proved to be false, and Communist governments have required more rather than less "state."

Another aspect of Communist thinking started by Marx but further developed by Lenin and Stalin is the concept that "that which assists the revolution" is good. According to Lenin Communist morality is determined only in terms of advancing communism. It is all very well to call this "proletarian morality," but why should such a concept of "might makes right" be considered preferable to middle class morality or even aristocratic morality?

Trend Towards Reform

The period from 1840 and 1860 was a difficult one for both workers and factory owners in England and other parts of Europe, since it was during these years that needed capital was being accumulated to build bigger and better factories. After this, industry entered what has been described as the "pay-off period." This meant that the capitalists had more funds for expansion, wages rose, costs of production and prices fell, profits increased, and both the capitalist and the workers gained.

With this trend underway, the emphasis on bloody revolution became less; particularly in England where a series of reforms improved the conditions of the workers. Under these circumstances the leaders of the Second International, which had been founded in Paris in 1888, although talking of eventual revolution, began working for reforms in the capitalist system,

rather than for an immediate end to that system. These reforms included higher pay, shorter working hours, universal suffrage, free trade, and peace among nations.

On the continent the years before World War I were a period of reform rather than revolution. The powerful German Social Democrats were led by non-proletarians, such as E. Bernstein who had a British Liberal or Fabian approach to reform. Bernstein rejected the completely materialistic approach of Marx and the Communists and felt that men should be guided by universal moral codes far different from the Marxist theory that the highest good was that which served the revolution best.

Somewhat the same approach to reform versus revolution showed itself in France during this period where the labor movement tended to reject the extreme teachings of Marx and put the good of the country above the good of class. When World War I broke out, the French workers, like those in Germany, supported their governments and disregarded the Communist view that this was a bourgeois war.

Lenin

Lenin Reshapes Marxism

The already confused theory of Marxism was further revised by Lenin. During the last years of the 19th century and down to his death in 1924 Lenin's personality, penetrating intellect, dynamism, and ruthlessness won for him the leadership of the militant wing of Russian socialists. He was essentially an activist and frequently developed theories to justify actions he had previously carried out. His more important contributions to the theories of Marx and Engels included:

1. Ideas on the strategy and tactics of revolution, as shown in the successful takeover.
2. His version of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or how a socialist state should be run; a theory hammered out under the stress of experience.
3. His theory that the Communist Party must be the "vanguard of the proletariat," the organization which thinks for, plans for, and guides the masses before, during, and after revolution.
4. A set of principles to be adopted by Communist parties throughout the world in order to bring about revolution everywhere.
5. His view that by the first half of the 20th century most of the world had entered the phase of "capitalist imperialism," that this was the "final stage of capitalism" which could not last long without producing wars and depressions, and that a new revolutionary situation had overtaken the world, one on which the Communists must capitalize.
6. His restating of the philosophy of dialectical materialism in a way that is accepted by most Communists.

Lenin's Extremist Theories

Lenin's genius lay in his ability to make quick and accurate evaluations of chaotic situations. He recognized the weaknesses of the positions being taken by the Provisional Government, the Social Democrats, and the Mensheviks in 1917 in Russia. In contrast to their moderation he took the position that the Bolsheviks must work for the utter destruction of the existing social, political, economic, and military order in Russia, and that this should be replaced by a dictatorship of the proletariat. The Bolsheviks at that time were still a small group, but they were well organized and tightly controlled. Using the Bolsheviks as his tool, Lenin was able to seize control of Russia, and give it to the undemocratic and highly centralized Bolshevik Party. A certain number of liberals followed Lenin because he advocated the abolition of the state. They expected that once the Communists were in power, there would be complete freedom for all. Actually, Lenin meant "the abolition of the bourgeois state," not the ending of all state machinery, but when the liberals realized this, it was too late for them to act.

Second, many Russians followed Lenin in the belief that the Communist takeover would mean the end of exploitation "of men by men." Actually, Lenin's theory was that exploitation or coercion would continue, but under the Bolsheviks this would be done in the interest of the majority of the people, rather than for the benefit of a bourgeois minority. Lenin admitted that unjust differences would persist after the revolution but he said that what was to be expected was a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie. In other words, there would still be a government, but since it would be directed by the Communist Party it would act in the interest of a majority of the people, and not for a privileged minority.

Lenin also used the word "democracy" to strengthen his following. By this, however, he did not mean parliamentary democracy in the Western sense, for he considered bourgeois democracy to be a false and hypocritical facade behind which the capitalist class operated. In contrast, Lenin favored "democratic centralism" built around a one-party system.

As Lenin proceeded to centralize power in Russia he was attacked not only by the Mensheviks and the Social Democrats within Russia, but by European Communists and Socialists. In early 1918 Lenin replied to these attacks in a pamphlet on proletarian revolutions. In it, he declared that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the essence of Marxism and the necessary instrument for the transition from capitalism to true communism. Lenin went on to claim that the Soviets of workers and peasants were the direct organizations of the toiling masses, that decisions of the Soviets were therefore the decisions of the people, and that any deviation from them was counterrevolutionary because it opposed the will of the people.

Lenin Changes His Views on Administration

Although Lenin was a genius at political action, his views on running a government were strangely naive. He believed, for instance, that in a socialist state the work of the government, in contrast to the business of the Party, was "accounting and control," plus a few actions such as "the operation of registering, filing, and checking" on the production and activities of the country (Ref 6, p 146). Because of this he felt there was no need for the type of large bureaucracy to be found in bourgeois states, and no reason for the high salaries paid by capitalist governments to their officials. According to Lenin, just after the takeover "every rank and file worker who is able to read and write can do organizational work" (Ref 1, p 146). Acting on this theory, Lenin at first said that the new Communist government had no need for experts, especially those connected with the Czarist regime. Thus, all "former people" were fired from the government and replaced by workers and peasants whose only qualifications were that they could read and write.

The result was chaos and paralysis which, before long, convinced even Lenin that the transition to socialism is impossible without experts. By the spring of 1920, Lenin was forced to go one step farther and admit that few workers and peasants were qualified to hold important positions in a bureaucracy; he agreed that the Communist Party now had "to administer with the help of people belonging to the class we have overthrown" (Ref 1, p 146).

Still another of Lenin's naive or perhaps Machiavellian beliefs about building socialism involved the attitude of the former ruling classes. Before and during the revolution Lenin had stated that, after losing their possessions and their special rights and privileges, the former bourgeois would see the error of their ways, accept the wisdom of the new order, and cooperate with it. As the Bolsheviks soon found out, only a few "former people" would cooperate with the new order, and very few were willing to actually work with it. Even after the pressure on the former ruling classes was relaxed enough to permit them to take jobs in the new Soviet government, they did not show the proper spirit and their presence frequently caused complications in the offices in which they worked. This situation became so serious as the 1920s progressed that, during the first Five-Year-Plan under Stalin, a new generation of experts had to be developed, drawn largely from the proletariat and the peasants.

The Period of So-Called War Communism

Students of communism should be aware of the fact that during the first three years after the Communist takeover in Russia in 1917, Lenin and the other party leaders tried to run Russia by what approached 19th century Communist theory. This proved unworkable and the country, which had been badly upset by World War I and which was under attack by various anti-Communist armies, sank into chaos. Finally, the breakdown became so complete that there was a mutiny in the Russian fleet in 1921 and Lenin and

his lieutenants were forced to drop their efforts to follow Communist theory. Instead, they put into effect what was known as the New Economic Policy (NEP). This amounted to permitting the return of private profit in many parts of the economy and produced a substantial improvement in the production and distribution of much needed products.

The Role of the Communist Party

In spite of earlier Communist writings to the effect that the Communist Party was the organ of the peasants and workers, the years after the revolution in Russia clearly showed that the Communist Party was the master and not the servant of the masses and was in fact the new ruling elite. As far back as 1902 Lenin had foreseen the need for a disciplined force to bring about a revolution. In his pamphlet, What is to be Done, written in that year he declared that "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement, thus the role of the vanguards can only be fulfilled by a party with an advanced theory of revolution." Lenin then went on to attack the idea that successful revolts come spontaneously from the revolutionary zeal of the workers. In fact, he declared that the workers and peasants are not naturally revolutionary. Thus, instead of giving directions to the Communist Party they must expect the Party to direct them. He thereupon attacked the principle of "following in the tail," by which he meant having the Party follow the thinking of the peasants and workers. In contrast, he insisted that the Party must lead the masses and show them what must be done. Thus, another of the selling points frequently used by Communists in countries that have not had a revolution was proved to be false.

Communist theorists are fond of talking about the democracy which exists in the Communist Party in Russia and which they claim is far better than parliamentary democracy. As early as 1904 Lenin, in the pamphlet One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, took the position that a Communist Party must be directed by a central organ and a central committee. Further, the persons "elected" to the central committee should be names proposed by the Party itself thus making its membership largely self-perpetuating. The Communists often talk about the fair elections which are held in Communist countries and the overwhelming majority given to the elected candidates. They neglect to mention that in a normal Communist "election" there is only one list of candidates from which the voters can choose, and that anyone not backing that slate comes under heavy pressure.

Another point made by Communist theorists is that once an able man has been elected to a central committee, he can be expected to stay there through merit. As far back as 1904 Lenin took the position that the central committee of an effective Communist Party must be able to purge itself of unreliable members. In practice this meant that prominent Communists who did not go along with the policy of the top elite, which under Stalin meant Stalin himself, would be stripped of power, purged, and frequently liquidated.

Lenin took the position that this dictatorial veto over membership in the upper reaches in the Communist Party was in the interest not only of the Party, but also of the people, and that in fact the masses welcomed such an arrangement, since it permitted the elimination of "traitors." (Note that the definition of the word traitor means something very different under communism from what it means in a Western democracy.)

Democratic Centralism

In any discussion with a good Communist, one is apt to be confronted by the term "democratic centralism." It is typical Communist doublespeak growing out of the beliefs of Lenin and Stalin that the strictest possible Party discipline is necessary in order to carry out the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Under this concept, all organizational questions, which means all important questions, have to be decided not by "state institutions" but by the Central Committee of the Party. Thus, although local, regional, or national committees may favor a policy, they can each be overridden by higher authority, while even the Central Committee itself must bow to the wishes of the Politbureau, the inner fortress of the real elite. Thus, democratic centralism really means tight centralized control with little that is democratic about it.

It is true that there is debate and criticism within the Communist Party at various levels in the hierarchy. Such debates, however, are usually summed up and closed by the Committee Chairman who is known to be a reliable man, and one who knows the party line as handed down from on high. Thus, such debates may be educational in giving the leaders an idea concerning what the rank and file Party members are thinking about, but rarely effect the important policies and decisions of the Party itself.

Second Comintern Congress of 1920

After three years in power, the Russian Communists found it necessary to make many changes in their earlier theoretical patterns. Thus, new policy for future Communist activities was worked out at the Second Congress of the Comintern, which was held in 1920. This meeting redirected the strategy and tactics of the Communist Parties throughout the world. The new line included the following ideas:

1. Abandon extreme sectarianism and be prepared to make contact with the masses, the trade unions, and other groups.
2. Be ready to work within middle-class governments now, in order to seize power later; remember that although parliamentary government is obsolete it is nevertheless useful during a period of united fronts and for penetration of non-Communist parties.

3. Be prepared, as vanguard of the proletarian revolution, to make practical compromises with non-Communist parties and be ready to follow a shifting course, which will give the masses invaluable political experience.

4. Make use of "factions" in other organizations, taking advantage of these splinter groups to penetrate and eventually dominate non-Communist Party organizations.

5. Appear to collaborate with the armies of non-Communist countries, particularly to strengthen them against Fascist tendencies.

These theses were further broadened at the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921. This expansion emphasized:

1. Increased use of united fronts to collaborate with non-Communist political parties.

2. Penetration "from above" to undercut the leaders of such parties.

3. Penetration "from below" through recruiting the rank and file of non-Communist organizations.

The Third Congress further emphasized that, although it is difficult to carry out such collaboration and remain Communist in the theoretical sense of the word, the Party must remember that its goal is to capture the masses and anything that aids in this is justified. The reminder was made that the greatest competition to the Communist Party comes from Socialist parties, which must be taken over and destroyed. To do this, a period of united fronts may be necessary. An example of this tactic was the Communist cooperation with the Socialists and Radical Socialists in France in the early 1930s, largely accomplished through working from above in order to form a united front against the Fascists. After World War II, however, largely because of the strength of De Gaulle's middle class movement, the Communist Party in France returned to the original position of "class versus class."

Special emphasis was also placed on having Communist members join trade unions, become active as leaders, and work themselves into positions to dominate the union. This was so successful that the Communist role in the World Federation of Trade Unions became obvious, and the British, Dutch, and US unions withdrew from the organization. After this, the headquarters of the World Federation of Trade Unions was moved by the Communists from Paris to Vienna. When Vienna proved too free a city, the headquarters was again moved, this time to Prague in 1956, where annual conventions and other meetings of the WFTU could be controlled completely by the Communists. In addition, regional headquarters for the WFTU were set up in Peking and Mexico. As the years passed, increasing emphasis was placed on efforts to disrupt the free trade unions which had formed their own organizations. Particular emphasis also was put on penetrating the labor movements in the developing nations of South America, Africa, the Near East, and Southeast Asia.

At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern, which was held in 1928, Communists throughout the world were told to capitalize on the grievances of the workers and even to create new grievances if none of importance existed. Further, in working with labor, Communists were instructed to be prepared to disregard collective agreements between employers and laborers or between labor and government in order to weaken non-Communist governments or trade unions and strengthen any organizations which the Communist Party controlled either openly or in secret.

Communist Fronts

To the Communists, the upper ranks of the Party are the officers and the lower ranks, the noncommissioned officers. Both these groups are subject to Party discipline, and are expected to work hard and follow the Party line no matter how often it changes.

Because they claim to represent the toiling masses, the Communists must be able to turn out a substantial number of persons for meetings, demonstrations, riots, etc. To a large extent such persons are rallied to the cause and utilized through fronts or front organizations. These are groups which, on the surface, appear to be working for non-Communist goals and which do not show their Communist domination. Particularly after 1921 a whole series of fronts were formed under the direction of a clever Communist called Willy Munzenberg, who has been referred to as the "Patron Saint of Fellow Travellers." Munzenberg privately referred to the fronts, such as the "Partisans of Peace" as "Innocents Clubs." In general, these fronts had prominent, but weak, non-Communist presidents and strong Communist secretaries who kept their connections with the Party hidden. The Communists placed persuasive orators in various committees to influence proceedings and to speak up in large meetings, making it possible for a small number of Communists to guide the overall actions of the fronts.

The usual avowed goal and title of a Communist front involves something which everyone desires, such as peace, freedom, health, education, justice, fair play, good housing, better working conditions, etc. Thus, it is difficult for the average person not to join such an organization, or to oppose it even if he knows that it is subversive.

Americans today, both in the United States and overseas, should be familiar with both the techniques of the fronts and the more important Communist front organizations, particularly those active in influencing American politics in Vietnam.

Communist Use of Factions

Particularly within the fronts, but also within labor groups and similar organizations, the Communists make effective use of factions or small, controlled minorities. If, for instance, a local chapter of some non-Communist organization has a hundred members and the Communists only have 20 members, the minority may be able to dominate proceedings by the following type of strategy. To begin with, they will push to have a meeting

called the night before a holiday or some other inconvenient time so that attendance will be light, perhaps 70 out of 100. Then they will purposely keep the debate going until after midnight so that many members will have to go home, possibly reducing the attendance to 50. They will then turn to controversial subjects which split the non-Communist membership. As a result, when an issue comes to a vote, the 20 Communists, plus perhaps 10 "innocents" whom they can get to vote with them, will be able to put through what they wish, all in a perfectly legal way. The same technique will then be used for setting up subcommittees, and even for putting additional members on important regular committees. The Communists work to have their members made secretaries of committees and subcommittees. They prefer not to have Communists in the top positions in a union or front organization, but like to control it through second- or third-rank officials, plus faithful committee secretaries backed by disciplined factions.

The Communists and the Colonial Areas

Just before he returned to Russia in 1917, Lenin wrote a book entitled Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism, in which he developed the theory that improved technology in the advanced countries in the West was causing overproduction which resulted in a surplus of goods, which required outside or oversea markets. He felt that the logical place for countries such as England, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Portugal, and even the United States and Germany to look for such markets was in the developing countries of Latin America, Africa, the Near and Middle East, and Southeast Asia. In addition, he argued that the advanced and colonial nations would use the underdeveloped areas as sources of raw material, Lenin felt this could be done easily because the workers in the backward areas were poorly organized or else not organized at all, and thus could be exploited by giant companies formed to produce raw materials, such as rubber, tin, copper, lumber, etc. To Lenin, this struggle for overseas markets was sure to become so violent that it would lead to a series of wars between the colonial or imperial powers.

It is true that World Wars I and II did take place, but basically not for these reasons. Furthermore, Lenin failed to foresee that by the middle of the 20th century the move towards independence for colonial areas had become a wave which could not be checked; by 1967 there were hardly any colonies left in the world.

The Communist pattern for keeping up with this new wave of independence in the developing countries is to say that the former colonies are not really independent but are still run by advisors and technicians from the "metropoles," thus producing what they refer to as neo-colonialism. The best answer to such attacks is to point out that these developing countries need "knowhow" and are getting it under a mutually beneficial arrangement which will end when the local inhabitants have developed sufficient skills.

In order to speed up the independence process and to end both colonialism and neo-colonialism, the Communists are developing experts for the various underdeveloped areas of the world. They are making it a

practice to recognize new governments whenever possible, to send in large diplomatic, cultural, economic, and labor groups and, if possible, military missions. They are doing all they can to make the new countries at least "neutral" if not pro-Communist in the cold war.

Events Following Lenin's Death

After the death of Lenin in January of 1924, Russia was ruled temporarily by a troika consisting of Zenoviev, Kamenev, and, because a practical politician was needed, the relatively obscure Stalin. The latter, however, soon showed his ability, his ruthlessness, and his force of character to such an extent that within five years he was running Russia. Because Stalin knew very little about the outside world, he emphasized Russian policy rather than international policy and pushed aside more prominent figures than himself, including Trotsky and the international wing of the Communists. This resulted in a series of changes in international communism which were reflected in changes in the organization and power of the Comintern, as shown below:

1917-1924	The Russians were important but not dominant in the Comintern, where Communists of other countries often played leading roles.
1924-1929	Communist international policy was split over various issues, including the possibility of building communism in one country. As a result, the Comintern was also split into various factions.
1929-1935	Once Stalin had gained complete control of Russia he used the Comintern as an arm of Russian foreign policy, often disregarding the interests of local Communist parties in order to further the interests of his own policies in Russia.
1935-1939	During this period Stalin and other Communists were worried about the rise of Fascism and worked to check its growth in any way possible. This for the most part resulted in a period of popular fronts for many countries, including France, Italy, and Germany.
1939-1943	By 1939, Hitler had become so powerful that Stalin felt it necessary to "make an alliance with the devil." This resulted in the Hitler-Stalin Pact which was intended to keep Russia safe from Nazi aggression, and to encourage Hitler to smash bourgeois regimes in Europe.

1943 -

When Hitler unilaterally ended the pact by attacking Russia, the political twists and turns of the Comintern had become so involved that its usefulness as a mechanism for helping Communist and other nations was ended. As a result, the Comintern was dissolved in that year.

Stalin Changes Communist Theory

Once he came to power, Stalin changed internal Communist theory and practice still further. In fact, he ceased to follow the theories of Marx, Engels, and even Lenin, but continued to refer to their writings, often out of context, in order to justify his own opportunistic policies, both at home and abroad.

For instance, Marx, Engels, and Lenin were internationalists, but Stalin had a purely Russian viewpoint. As he became more powerful, he was able to force greater emphasis on the success of Russian communism and to work for a situation in which socialism was being built successfully in one country. This development coincided with the trend towards nationalism, which flourished in many parts of the world in the 1920s and 1930s. Thus, to "get in step with local thinking" Communist parties everywhere found it necessary to emphasize national rather than international goals, platforms, or programs.

The Doctrine of Communism in One Country

One of Stalin's main contributions to Communist doctrine was that socialism is possible in one country. Before 1917, Communists throughout the world believed that support from revolutions in other countries was absolutely essential to the survival of communism in Russia. This was one of the reasons why, on coming to power, the Russian Communist leaders gave so much aid to the Comintern, and its efforts to foment revolutions in various parts of the world.

By 1924, however, it was clear that the Communist tide was ebbing in Germany, Italy, Hungary, the Baltic States, and certainly in England and the United States. Thus, at the Fourteenth Conference of the Communist Party, which was held in April of 1925, Stalin officially propounded the doctrine that socialism could be built in one country. In so doing, Stalin and his supporters ran head-on into the thinking of the brilliant Communist leader Trotsky, who still insisted that in order to survive in Russia, communism must be supported by Communist governments in other countries. The struggle was bitter, but Stalin, who had the realities of world politics on his side, finally won out. Trotsky went into exile and his followers either repented, were demoted, or were liquidated. In a way, this dispute was part of the age-old struggle which has gone on in Russia between the Slavophiles and the Westerners; in other words between those who believe that Russia should stand on her own feet versus those who believe that the future of Russia is tied to the future of the West.

Stalin's Theory of the State

The conventional Communist theory was that the state was based on the proletariat. This meant that industrialization was necessary in Russia to expand the size of the working class; since electricity is easier than coal to move, electrification in Russia was required to develop the proletariat. Stalin recognized and continued this policy and under him the country grew stronger and stronger, while the size and power of the government increased. For this he was criticized by the Communist theorists, who took the position that under communism the state should wither away. Stalin's reply, given in 1930 at the 16th Congress of the Communist Party, was that the Communists in Russia must "keep on developing state power in order to prepare the conditions for the withering away of state power" (Ref 1, p 182). Under Stalin, the old Politburo of 11 members was replaced by a Presidium of 25 members, and the formal Central Committee of the Party was expanded from 139 to 236 members.

In addition, Stalin, in order to give more power to the factory workers, revised the basis on which the Communist Party was organized. He did away with the previous geographical representation and substituted a basis of factory cells.

Further, in order to weaken the power of the rank and file members of the overseas Communist parties in the Comintern, Stalin changed the rules in order to have the members of the local Politburos represented in the Comintern nominated in Moscow. This gave the Russian Party in general, and Stalin in particular, much greater power over Communists in non-Russian lands.

Equalitarianism

Another of Stalin's changes in Marxist-Leninist philosophy came in the field of what the Communists liked to call "equalitarianism." From 1917 to 1931, an effort was made in Russia to pay everyone the same amount. But as the years went by it became clear that this did not offer a sufficient stimulus for production, and much bitterness developed at having a head of a factory paid the same amount as an oiler.

Finally, in 1931, Stalin denounced the idea of equal wages as "bourgeois" and declared that inequality is a fundamental socialist principle. Thus, by the mid-1930s the gulf between the purchasing power of those at the top and those at the bottom of the Communist social scale was believed to be bigger than the similar gulf that existed in the United States. To many socialists around the world, such as Max Eastman, this new approach by Stalin marked the end of true socialism in Russia (Ref 1, p 182).

Stalin and Agriculture

No Communist country has successfully solved the problem of applying socialism to the farms and still obtaining a satisfactory level of production. Russia, where some 90 percent of the people were peasants as late as the 1920s, is no exception to this general rule.

Lenin distinguished between rich peasants, middle-income peasants and poor peasants, and believed that the latter were allied in their interests with the proletariat in bringing about and carrying on the revolution. Even so, Lenin thought that the peasants were "minor allies" as long as they were still farmers or farm owners. He believed that they had to be made into "farm proletarians" and that this process should be brought about gradually.

Stalin, however, believed that the transition of the Russian peasants from land owners or tillers of the soil into workers should be done quickly. In 1929 he started a farm revolution which was, in some respects, more drastic than the seizure of the factories had been. First of all, Stalin expropriated the holdings of the wealthier peasants, who were known as Kulacks. Many of these, such as the prosperous Cossacks in the black-earth Kuban area, resisted so forcefully that troops had to be sent in to stop the uprising. As many as 18 trainloads of peasants were arrested and sent to Siberia.

Next, Stalin and those working for him forced the middle-income peasants into the cultivation of small land units. Some of these were purposefully made uneconomic, resulting in low productivity and low incomes for these middle-income peasants. The idea was to cause them to give up their private holdings and join in large collective farms or force them to work on state farms. Very frequently, however, these former middle-income peasants, rather than raising crops which were then taken by the state, simply produced less so that serious food shortages developed.

The poorer peasants, many of whom had been landless, were put on state farms which were, in fact, rural factories producing food for the cities. Here also the Russian peasants decided that there was no use working hard to produce crops from which they did not benefit, and so they began cutting down on their production.

The result of all of this was the terrible famine of 1932-1933 in which some five million persons died of starvation. Stalin tried drastic measures such as collecting food in the cities and only giving it to farm communities that followed the party line. But this did not work either, and by 1934 Moscow had to slow the drive for collectivization and the creation of a rural proletariat, and to allow the peasants to till more land for themselves. Thus, Stalin's efforts to transform the peasants of Russia into farm workers caused serious problems, widespread suffering in all parts of Russia, and millions of deaths. It was not until late in the 1930's that Russian agriculture revived from the impact of collectivization, and it has never moved forward at a rate commensurate with the growth of Russian industry. Further, both agriculture and industry in Western Russia were badly hurt by the German invasion.

Khrushchev

Theory in Post-Stalin Russia

After Stalin's death in 1953, which led to the rise of Khrushchev, there were further changes in the theory behind Russian communism. These included a move towards collective leadership at the top of the Party, some

reduction in the power of the secret police, modest increases in the output of consumer goods, and the granting of greater freedom to farmers in regard to their produce. Also, writers and other intellectuals were, for a while, given greater latitude in what they wrote or did, while restrictions on travel for foreigners inside Russia were relaxed.

The improved morale resulting from these changes did not last however, as it became apparent that Khrushchev's "personal and free-wheeling approach" to government was not proving really successful. The Communist movement failed to spread in non-Communist countries, nationalist feeling grew in the Soviet satellites, the living standards of the Russian people remained far below those of the Western countries, housing was still in short supply, the quality of consumer goods remained poor, and agricultural production lagged seriously. In spite of such technical successes as the launching of the first Sputnik, the theory that Russia under communism was about to lead the world down the road of happy socialist progress became more and more untenable.

Communism in the Underdeveloped Areas

Nothing shows the opportunistic nature of Communist policy better than the twists and turns in Communist relations with the developing areas of the world. During the first three years after the Bolshevik seizure of power in Moscow, the leaders of that movement had expected revolution in the countries of the West and paid little attention to the Eastern lands. When, in 1920, it became clear that Europe and the Americas were not going Communist, the leaders of the Comintern supported a policy of cooperation with revolutionary nationalists. An example of this was Moscow's willingness to cooperate with Chinese Nationalist leaders of the Kuomintang, such as Chiang Kai-shek. The emphasis was on anti-imperialism and the Communists were willing to support the "national bourgeoisie" if they felt it would produce results in that direction.

However, in 1927, Chiang Kai-shek turned against Borodin and his other Communist advisors. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, therefore, the leaders of local nationalist movements were viewed as enemies of the revolution and cooperation with them was forbidden. The new emphasis in Moscow was then put on closer ties with the revolutionary proletariat.

At this time also, the Communist leaders began grudgingly to admit that in the rural areas of the world it might be possible for nations to skip the capitalist stage of development and move directly from feudalism to socialism.

The Seventh Congress of the Comintern, which was held in 1935, reflected the new opposition to Nazi Germany and in many of the developing countries Communists were told to abandon their earlier positions, to widen the membership in the national liberation movements as much as possible, work for united fronts, and be prepared to support the policies of all countries, even colonial powers, which were basically anti-Fascist.

From 1935 until after the war Moscow's interest was centered in Europe, and Stalin did little to push revolutions in Asia, thus leaving the field open to a considerable extent for Mao and his "agrarian reformers."

After the war, the Comintern was replaced by the Cominform and spokesmen such as Zhdanov again reaffirmed the class struggle and the conflict throughout the world between the capitalist and Communist camps, between "colonial imperialists" and "democratic socialists." In line with this new, hard policy, the Communist parties in various developing areas were ordered, frequently against their own better judgments, to carry out Communist revolutions or at least Communist-guided independence rebellions. But Moscow had misjudged the world situation; revolutions in Greece, Iran, Burma, Malaya, and the Philippines all failed, leading to widespread loss of life and prestige among the Communists who attempted them.

Khrushchev Changes Policy Once Again

Once Khrushchev had come to power, this unrealistic hard line gave way to a principle of supporting peaceful "coexistence." This made it possible for Moscow to support Nasser in Egypt, to hail the achievements of the Socialist Party in Burma, and to label a nationalist leader, such as Nehru in India, as a man of peace. By the spring of 1959, however, the Party members and fellow travellers were being told secretly that although it was all right to support the nationalist bourgeoisie in their anti-Western, anti-imperialist, and even neutral foreign policies, complete independence and true social justice could be secured in the developing nations only under the leadership of the Communist Party. This meant, in practice, to use nationalists and wealthier elements in the developing nations to get rid of colonialism, and then eliminate them "one layer at a time."

Ho Chi Minh Lops Off the Tallest Branches

The only way to judge Communist theory is through Communist practice. Since World War II we have seen Communist takeovers in China, North Korea, and North Vietnam, where similar patterns were followed in dealing with the local populations. Ho Chi Minh, for instance, who had studied under Mao, carried out his seizure of power in North Vietnam in a series of calculated and brutal steps. The first of these, which lasted from 1946 to 1949, was known as the "anti-imperialist stage." During it, when Ho needed strength against the French, the emphasis was put on national unity among all groups in the population. The Communist Party "voluntarily disbanded" in favor of a united front. private ownership of property was respected, farmers were made to pay their rents, and businessmen were encouraged to make profits. In addition, various front organizations were created to gain the support of such groups in the population as merchants, landlords, prosperous farmers, and even lawyers and doctors.

But after a trip to Peking in March of 1951, Ho Chi Minh reactivated the Communist Party of Indo-China, this time under the name of the "Vietnamese Labor Party." A process of economic leveling was then begun which included the imposition of new and higher taxes, taxes whose level

was set by Party members. As a result, most landlords were forced to sell their farms, while traders and businessmen could no longer stay in business. Because restrictions were put on the price of land and the value of businesses, these wealthier elements in the population were ruined. Such landlords and businessmen who continued to carry on were then forced to attend open meetings where they were questioned about their finances and often tortured into admitting crimes against the state. Public trials were then held, such evil-doers were denounced by Party activists, and large numbers of them promptly executed.

Ho Chi Minh next moved to eliminate the richer farmers in each village, again using the technique of public meetings at which members of the Communist Party were instructed to denounce the accused persons. People's tribunals then moved from village to village, passing out sentences on the unfortunate richer farmers, many of whom were promptly taken out and shot.

Once this wave of trials was over, and the absentee landlords, traders, and richer peasants were out of the way, the other farmers relaxed. But on orders from Hanoi, still another round of accusations, public trials, torture, confessions, and executions was directed at the "above-average" peasants and then extended to "average peasants" who were not practicing "good thoughts." As a result, thousands of men, women, and children were liquidated and their lands distributed to the Party faithful or assigned to Communist-run state farms. When, in certain areas of North Vietnam, the peasants rebelled at these brutal procedures, the armed forces of the Communists moved in, shot the ringleaders, sent lesser rebels to concentration camps, and put many of the rest to work as forced labor on the state farms.

Thus, the Communist promises to get rid of the colonialists, the absentee landlords, business men, traders, and even richer and average farmers were fulfilled. But this was done in so brutal a way, and with so little gain to the remaining population, that any belief in the benefits of communism was ended. Even Party members learned they could not escape.

Part of the present resistance to Mao's great "Cultural Proletarian Revolution" in China itself, and to Communist infiltration from the North into South Vietnam, comes from an understanding of these facts. Throughout Asia during the last twenty years millions of people have learned, to their sorrow, that the hopeful theories and glittering promises held out to them by Communist leaders have little or no relationship to the reality of life under a Communist dictatorship. If communism can be stopped from spreading further during the next 20 years, its threat to the Free World will largely pass away.

APPENDIX

TASK ASSIGNMENT

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12 April 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director, CORG

SUBJECT: Task Assignment No. 7

1. The Commanding General requests you to perform a study within the scope of work of Project Number Three of your contract for Calendar Year 1966.

2. TITLE: Political Education Requirements for US Army Personnel Engaged in Stability Operations.

3. STATEMENT OF WORK: Determine the means required to train and maintain the proficiency of the US Army in the political aspects of counterinsurgency.

a. Analyze the systems of education that have been employed historically and that are presently being employed to instill, in an Army, an understanding of those aspects of low intensity conflicts which may be broadly referred to as political in nature.

b. Analyze the existing US Army educational system in terms of the quantity and quality of information that it provides on the political aspects of low intensity conflicts. Attention will be devoted to both officer and enlisted training in career and specialty schools and in operational orientation.

c. Determine the extent of political knowledge required with the US Army for stability operations. This should include but not be limited to knowledge of: the basic factors that contribute to insurgency development, the patterns of evolution of insurgency (subversive and non-subversive), US political systems, and US foreign policy and organization. Requirements should be defined for specific officer and enlisted grade levels.

d. Analyze the education and organizational requirements necessary to impart and maintain this knowledge in the US Army.

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SUBJECT: Task Assignment No. 7

4. WHY IS WORK REQUIRED:

a. Close relationship between the military and non-military aspects of internal defense (See CDC letter dtd 1 Mar 66, subj: "New and Revised Terminology,") and the dominant role of the political factor therein make it mandatory that the US Army maintain a proficiency in this field.

b. Operational experience gathered to date indicates that the extent and nature of political education in the US Army at present is inadequate to prepare personnel for problems to be faced in the field.

5. RESULTS ANTICIPATED: This study will produce recommendations concerning measures to be adopted to best improve the US Army's capabilities, including:

- a. Qualitative statement of subject matter to be covered.
- b. Quantitative statement of allocation of emphasis on various subjects.
- c. Recommendations for instructional material.
- d. Recommendations for the organization of US Army educational systems to effect the proposed educational innovations.

6. The study will be presented to the Commanding General in the form of a CORG publication entitled Annex 2, Project 3.

7. GUIDANCE.

a. References:

- (1) USACDC SWCAG Doctrinal Review Program.

b. Administration:

(1) Direct coordination with RAC, SORO, USCONARC and subordinate agencies of USACDC is authorized.

(2) A final draft report will be completed by 30 June 1967.

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SUBJECT: Task Assignment No. 7

8. Correlation: This project is identified as USACDC Action Control Number 7291 and supports the following:

a. Army Concept Program	Army 70
b. Study "Analysis and Development of US Counterinsurgency Doctrine and Organization;" USACDC Action Control Number	3162
c. Army Tasks	3: Low Intensity Conflict Type I 4: Low Intensity Conflict Type II
d. Phase	Evaluation
e. Functions	Intelligence Command, Control and Communication Service Support

9. It is requested that you analyze your resources, indicate your acceptance and/or recommendations, and provide the following information:

- a. Estimated man-months.**
- b. Computer time.**
- c. Proposed Completion Date.**
- d. Project Officer.**
- e. CORG Project Number.**
- f. Type of publication.**

**JOHN T. PIERCE, III
Colonel, GS
Chief, Operations Research
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4. Brandt, Schwartz, and Fairbanks, Documentary History of Chinese Communism. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
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